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Security Council

Fifty-fifth year

Provisional

4165th meeting

Tuesday, 27 June 2000, 10.30 a.m.
New York

President:	Mr. Levitte	(France)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Cappagli
	Bangladesh	Mr. Ahmed
	Canada	Mr. Fowler
	China	Mr. Shen Guofang
	Jamaica	Miss Durrant
	Malaysia	Mr. Hasmy
	Mali	Mr. Keita
	Namibia	Mr. Theron
	Netherlands	Mr. van Walsum
	Russian Federation	Mr. Sergeev
	Tunisia	Mr. Jerandi
	Ukraine	Mr. Krokhmal
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir Jeremy Greenstock
	United States of America	Mr. Holbrooke

Agenda

The situation in East Timor

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00-50315 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 10.45 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in East Timor

The President (*spoke in French*): I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Australia, Brazil, Indonesia, Japan, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal and the Republic of Korea, in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Ms. Wensley (Australia), Mr. De Moura (Brazil), Mr. Widodo (Indonesia), Mr. Akasaka (Japan), Mr. Powles (New Zealand), Mr. Kolby (Norway), Mr. Monteiro (Portugal) and Mr. Sun (Republic of Korea) took the seats reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

The President (*spoke in French*): In accordance with the understanding reached in the Council's prior consultations, and in the absence of objection, I shall take it that the Security Council agrees to extend an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure to Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello, Special Representative of the Secretary-General and Transitional Administrator for East Timor.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

I invite Mr. Vieira de Mello to take a seat at the Council table.

The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

At this meeting, the Security Council will hear a briefing by Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello, Special Representative of the Secretary-General and Transitional Administrator for East Timor.

I warmly welcome Mr. Vieira de Mello and give him the floor.

Mr. Vieira de Mello (*spoke in French*): May I first of all, a bit belatedly, congratulate you, Mr. President, on your appointment to New York, and may I thank you for having been willing to give me this opportunity under your presidency to report on the situation in East Timor.

The United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET), the Timorese and the international community continue to make progress towards reconstructing East Timor. The summary sheet that I have distributed to the Council recapitulates some of the activities that we have been undertaking in certain key areas. It may be that the principal achievement thus far is that we are now much more aware than we were at first of the uniqueness, magnitude and complexity of UNTAET's mission, and of the fact that our long-term success will certainly depend on the extent to which the Timorese themselves will be able to participate in and take over the transition process. It seems to me that our main interlocutors understand better and better that, as far as they are concerned, the exercise of power does not mean simply influencing the decision-making or participating in it; it also means assuming responsibility for their choices. This is the general context in which we have recently been discussing the ways and means of making progress in the transition, a question that I would like to elaborate on today for the Council.

Before I enter into the heart of the subject, allow me a short digression. Many others before me have emphasized that resolution 1272 (1999) was innovative in its ambitiousness and in the breadth of the mandate given to UNTAET. Although this deserves to be emphasized, words can but weakly describe the challenges we have been facing every day in East Timor, and I must note that in many respects we are very poorly equipped to face those challenges. In fact, the United Nations has almost everything to learn at the same time as it is trying to build and manage a country — a task that we have never had to accomplish before. The experience that we are gaining in UNTAET shows that we are going to have to review both our thinking and our administrative mechanisms if we want the United Nations to be able to undertake any other operations of this type and scope in the future.

To review, UNTAET is entrusted with a governance operation without precedent in the history of the United Nations; preceding missions have only shared this responsibility or partially exercised it. UNTAET is starting from scratch, and quite rightly a great deal of rapid, appreciable progress is expected of it. This new type of mandate compels the United Nations to confront pressures never before faced in the field. The need for speed comes up against the need for consultation; the need for sound financial management comes up against demonstrations opposing increases in gasoline prices and unemployment; the need to recruit locals comes up against the reality that there is almost a complete dearth of qualified candidates; accusations that the United Nations staff is too comfortable comes up against the fact that more UNTAET staff have fallen ill than those of any other United Nations mission. We are beginning to confront the realities of governance, but I must admit that it has taken us a good deal of time to accomplish this.

If I may be frank, let me say that it is yet more striking how the scope of UNTAET's mandate has revealed weaknesses in our administrative rules and procedures that considerably reduce our ability to respond flexibly to the needs of the Timorese in the framework of resolution 1272 (1999). Something is clearly not right if UNTAET can cost $692 million, whereas the entire budget of East Timor comes to a bit over $59 million. Can it therefore come as a surprise that there is so much criticism of United Nations extravagances, while the Timorese continue to suffer? The criticism will continue as long as our administrative rules prevent United Nations engineers from dealing with public buildings that are not used by United Nations officials but rather by Timorese officials. Something is certainly not right in a budget that does not provide for border and customs services, nor for operating either the airport, prisons or courts. It is hard for us to accept that the budget does not allow for the purchase of a boat or two to fight contraband at a time when we are being asked to increase income.

Rather than going over grievances, my intention today is to draw the Council's attention to the real problems that we need to deal with every day on the ground. May I also emphasize that we need to be given the authorization to use the regular budget as flexibly and pragmatically as possible. The tasks that resolution 1299 (1999) assigns to UNTAET are not impossible, although they will require a great deal of effort, but we can carry them out effectively only if our administration procedures can be adapted so that we have the necessary resources.

Let us now take up the heart of the subject. In recent weeks UNTAET has endeavoured to take stock of the situation and determine the minimum criteria that we need to fulfil in order to move successfully to independence. It is not a question of drawing up an exhaustive list, but rather of pointing out the essential objectives to be attained before independence. These are ensuring security during the transition period and facilitating the establishment of the mechanism that will be needed to maintain security after independence; remedying the poverty of refugees in West Timor and helping them be repatriated in a free and orderly fashion; establishing a credible judiciary system that respects basic human rights and that can appropriately maintain law and order; ensuring sufficient reconstruction so that the public services can function; establishing a financially viable administration under the direction of the Timorese; and ensuring the political transition to independence, by the adoption of a Constitution and fully democratic elections.

The first four points, on which I will quickly provide the Council some information, are prerequisites for the last two.

As regards security, it is remarkable that so soon after last year's violence, East Timor is now a country at peace. The internal security situation is normal. While security conditions on the whole are improving, serious incidents are continuing to occur here and there, including a grenade attack that was launched against a border post at the end of May, in which an Australian soldier was wounded. I also regret to have to inform the Council that on the morning of 21 June six grenades were launched against quarters where seven Australian soldiers were being lodged. Light-weapon fire followed this attack. Fortunately, no one was wounded. I note that all these incidents occurred along the border.

Nonetheless, good relations have been established between our forces and the Indonesian armed forces — especially following the signing, on 11 April, of a memorandum of understanding between our Force Commander and General Syahnakri. In addition, talks aimed at improving cooperation in the framework of investigations of border incidents and of putting an end to infiltration are under way.

Taking into consideration the security situation on the ground and the capacity of our civilian police to establish law and order, the reduction of the military force has already begun, and proposals for further reductions have already been submitted to the Secretary-General. Nonetheless, these proposals concern only the infantry in the eastern sector. At the same time, we have identified a need for specialists and logistical experts. A range of proposals in this respect will be presented to the Council in the July report of the Secretary-General. In the meantime, we continue to review the composition of our military component, and additional proposals in keeping with the conditions on the ground will be presented on a regular basis. Furthermore, it should be possible to devote the savings that would result for the United Nations budget to concrete projects that would have tangible benefits for East Timor — for example, providing patrols to fight against contraband or repairing some of the road damage that has been done by the intensive circulation of heavy military vehicles.

As for future defence needs, we are awaiting the arrival of an assessment team from King's College in London, which I visited last week. We hope that their visit will make it possible for us better to determine the means of arranging for effective security after the transition. To do this, we need to begin to prepare as of now. While the Armed Forces for the Liberation of East Timor are remaining remarkably disciplined, it is nonetheless undeniable that they are showing signs of growing agitation and impatience, undoubtedly due to the fact that they are idle and uncertain about their future. We are considering provisional measures that could be taken to improve the situation in the short term.

On the diplomatic front, remarkable overall progress has been made to resolve pending questions with Indonesia. Jakarta has opened a diplomatic mission in Dili. President Wahid made an extremely fruitful visit to East Timor on 29 February last. Xanana Gusmão and I travelled to Indonesia on several occasions, and on 29 February, also in Dili, I signed a communiqué regarding a diverse range of questions jointly with the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Shihab.

Nonetheless, a great deal does remain to be done, especially to follow up on the key provisions of this communiqué. Towards that end, I travelled to Jakarta at the end of last month to meet with President Wahid and Mr. Shihab. In particular, I encouraged them to move forward in creating a transit corridor between the Oecusse enclave and the rest of East Timor, and to seek ways of allowing those Timorese who were part of the Indonesian civil service to obtain their pensions and of creating favourable conditions for Timorese students in Indonesian universities.

It is important to resolve the question of pensions in order to encourage the return of remaining refugees. In this respect, we are continuing to encourage increased contacts between East and West Timor. Recently the Governor of West Timor went to Dili, and the Bishop of Baucau this month visited West Timor.

Furthermore, recently we had a visit from a former high official of the militia so that he could see for himself the situation in East Timor, and the head of my Office last week went to West Timor to meet with the Governor, the military commander and other Indonesian officials of that province, following the fruitful visit of the Governor to Dili.

I hope that these ongoing contacts will enable us to overcome the remaining obstacles and persuade the refugees and the remaining integrationist leaders in West Timor that their future lies in East Timor. The violence faced by officials of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees some days ago in a refugee camp in Kupang — the capital of West Timor — is intolerable, and once again we appeal to the Indonesian authorities to neutralize, once and for all, the extremist elements that remain in those camps.

Upon my return to Dili, it is my intention to examine, together with Xanana Gusmão and the National Consultative Council, the question of refugees in all of its aspects — political, security and humanitarian — in order to rethink it and to find the best ways of speedily resolving this problem. The international community will have to — and I said this in Luxembourg on the occasion of the most recent meeting of the General Affairs Council of the European Union — the international community will have to help Indonesia appropriately to resettle the refugees who wish to stay in Indonesia.

(*spoke in English*)

The broader humanitarian question is perhaps the area in which most progress has been made to date. Having completed the emergency phase of its work,

UNTAET's humanitarian pillar will merge with the governance pillar by the end of this year.

Moving now to the justice system, court hearings are beginning even as the courts themselves are being rebuilt. The recruitment and training of judges, prosecutors and defenders continues, and the Police Training College is proceeding with the moulding of an East Timorese police force. In April, together with Attorney-General Marzuki Darusman of Indonesia, I signed a memorandum of understanding on cooperation on legal, judicial and human rights-related matters. This is a far-reaching document which will allow both East Timor and Indonesia to move forward in seeking legal redress for the crimes of the past. We are expecting a visit from the Attorney-General's office in early July in pursuit of this aim. Finally, efforts are under way to develop a national reconciliation commission to help heal the wounds of the recent past.

While the law and order situation remains relatively calm, I am concerned by attacks on minority communities, namely the Muslims, the ethnic Chinese and the Protestants. The targeting of these communities often appears to be less religious or racial than political or economic, and it focuses on perceptions that these minorities were unduly close to the Indonesian authorities. One Chinese woman my colleagues spoke to has been accused of supporting Indonesian military intelligence. She told us that many Chinese were caught in the middle under Indonesian rule and had to make regular contributions to both sides. This woman's dilemma was not unique, but rather was a product of the tumultuous times which East Timor has recently experienced. It highlights the need for mature thinking on how to deal with the wounds of the past. UNTAET is working with local communities, and, in fact, my Deputy for Governance, Mr. Jean Cady, met with all of the components of UNTAET yesterday and will be meeting soon with East Timor political and church leaders to ensure that the message of tolerance frequently expressed in public statements becomes more than a rhetorical refrain.

The area of reconstruction is the most exasperating one for us all. The process has begun, but I am as frustrated as the East Timorese are over its slow pace. More, much more, remains to be done in the raw task of physical reconstruction. I visited Suai, a southern district, in the wake of the heavy flooding which took place there at the end of May. What I saw was truly depressing. The district is now cut off from Dili by land and is likely to remain so for at least six more months. The people, already traumatized by the violence of last September, of which they bore the brunt, must now also face the reality that even their temporary homes and remaining few possessions have been destroyed, washed away by the floodwaters.

We must accelerate our rate of reconstruction, and I will continue to depend on the generosity of the international community in this area while at the same time seeking to develop East Timorese capacity to address the problem. Much of the problem, though, has not been due to a lack of generosity on the part of the donors but rather to a relatively slow rate of disbursement into the World Bank Trust Fund and indeed on our part. I believe that this problem is now being rectified.

The Lisbon donor conference, held last week, came as a major fillip to us all, particularly through the clear vote of confidence we received for the East Timor consolidated budget. Once again, I thank all those who attended for recommitting themselves to supporting the ongoing needs of East Timor. Under this budget, quarterly performance information will be provided to the donors. Further, we are moving towards establishing a committee-based process — with full East Timorese participation — which will plan, prioritize and approve development proposals from all sources.

Let me now turn to the establishment of an East Timorese administration. In virtually all areas the sheer lack of qualified human resources is acute. To address this problem, capacity-building in East Timor has focused on two areas. First, general training requires a functioning educational system, which, while still in its infancy, is rapidly being rebuilt. We hope to resume the normal school calendar from this coming October. Furthermore, bilateral funding is being sought for a human resources development centre which would offer training in a range of skills. UNTAET has also placed considerable emphasis on the training of civil servants. This is a particularly steep challenge as, hitherto, virtually all management positions in the administration had been held by Indonesian officials. The Civil Service Academy has commenced language training and will soon increase the range of courses on offer, and the United Nations Development Programme presented to donors in Lisbon an ambitious programme, which we fully endorse, to provide

training for management positions in the new administration.

Finally, it is worth highlighting the considerable amount of on-the-job training that exists within the mission. UNTAET staff work side by side with East Timorese civil servants in all fields, from human resources management personnel to water workers, and from health specialists to payroll officers, with East Timorese representation in the Administration scheduled to increase dramatically through an active recruitment drive that will begin in the next couple of weeks. Training is bearing fruit as independence approaches.

Let me conclude by referring to the political transition. An effective political transition has two components. The first is a constitutional process culminating in democratic elections. The second is the development of a culture in which the political leadership makes transparent decisions for which it is willing to take responsibility.

The ground rules for both the constitutional process and the elections are simple: the final say in both cases will lie with the East Timorese; human rights must be adequately protected; and the system adopted must be democratic. Following discussions with Xanana Gusmão and other East Timorese political leaders, I feel safe in predicting, as announced at the Lisbon conference last week, that elections — and, possibly, independence — will take place next year, at some point between 30 August and December 2001. The final decision will no doubt largely depend on how fast progress is being made in attaining the key benchmarks to which I have just briefly alluded and which the Secretary-General requested us to develop when he visited Dili last February. The elections will, in all likelihood, be for a constituent assembly. Prior to that, the political coalition known as the National Resistance Council of East Timor (CNRT) is likely to recommend the establishment, following its congress in August this year, of a broad-based constitutional commission which will, together with UNTAET, engage in a wide consultative process with the East Timorese on the drafting of a Constitution.

Increasingly, we and the East Timorese have come to the realization that the transition will require much more than UNTAET's simply assisting in designing institutions and in recruiting and training administrators. Capacity-building should not be restricted to the technical level but, rather, should also embrace the level of political leadership. In short, it has been our thinking in recent weeks — and the subject of widespread discussion — that the East Timorese should not only staff the Administration and Government but also take political responsibility for it.

At the end of May, in a former military barracks outside Dili, a week-long conference was held on the reconstruction and development of East Timor. At that gathering, I presented two options as to how UNTAET could proceed: the technocratic and the political. The first was basically a continuation of the current strategy, namely, to steadily "Timorize" the Administration at all levels so that a fully national civil service would be in place at the point of independence when an elected East Timorese Government assumed power. The political model would continue the "Timorization" of the civil service but would also share governmental responsibility with the East Timorese. In short, I proposed a coalition Government of sorts, in which several portfolios would be held by East Timorese political figures who would also, for the first time ever, enjoy political responsibility for their decisions. I also pointed out that this would be a mixed blessing, in that the East Timorese leadership would, from then on, have to join UNTAET in a kind of coalition "punching bag" in sharing the blows delivered by our critics for the decisions we take.

The CNRT leadership accepted this concept — in fact, it welcomed it enthusiastically — with the portfolios to be shared equally between UNTAET and the East Timorese. Consequently, internal administration, infrastructure, economic affairs and social affairs would be managed by East Timorese appointees, taking into account the dominant role of the CNRT, whereas finance, justice and security and political, constitutional and electoral affairs would remain with UNTAET. Furthermore, a new national legislative council will be constituted to replace the old quasi-cabinet/legislative hybrid National Consultative Council. It will be expanded to render it more representative and will comprise only East Timorese. There will be 33 members: one from each of the districts, seven from parties within the CNRT, three from other political parties, and one each representing youth and students, local non-governmental organizations, the Catholic Church, the Protestant Church, the Muslim community, the professions, farmers, labour and business.

Nothing in this proposal will alter the fundamental tenet of resolution 1272 (1999), namely, that UNTAET is endowed with overall responsibility for the administration of East Timor. Indeed, this proposal will further advance one of the priority tasks set by resolution 1272 (1999): to support capacity-building for self-government. The structure has been agreed upon — an organigram has been distributed to you, Mr. President — and it is our hope to implement it as from next month, July. This will afford the East Timorese the opportunity to benefit from a period of co-government with UNTAET, just as the civil service is currently benefiting from working side by side with international personnel. It will render the transition to independence less sudden and help the concept of governmental responsibility assert itself in East Timor.

In conclusion, may I invite all Council members to visit us in East Timor and see for themselves the unique nature of the task with which the Council has entrusted us. We would be able to benefit from their experience and advice, and they would have the opportunity to appreciate the complexity of our work. I can assure the Council that such a visit would be extraordinarily stimulating for us. Members would see both that which is uplifting and that which is truly depressing. Above all, however, they would see up close the enthusiasm of the East Timorese for determining their own future, and they would see how the United Nations is helping them to realize that goal: not perfectly, perhaps — far from it — but in a committed and pragmatic manner.

The President (*spoke in French*): I warmly thank Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello for his outstanding briefing, which was full of information and very clear on the current situation and on the progress achieved. The briefing was full of concrete proposals. Mr. Vieira de Mello has given us an outlook that is both realistic and ambitious.

Mr. Holbrooke (United States of America): Thank you, Mr. President, for allowing me to begin this important discussion. This is the first time in four months that Sergio Vieira de Mello has graced us with his presence. As you, Sir, have just said — I echo your comments — he has once again given us an informative and encouraging briefing. This has been an extraordinarily busy month in the Security Council. This will be the last time I will be able to be here this month, because I am leaving for London and Geneva this evening. So I want to thank you, Mr. President, for your extraordinary stewardship in a month which rivalled China's month of presidency in terms of the number of crises confronted, and which equalled China's achievement in steering us through these difficult times.

I want to thank the Special Representative for his briefing, as well as for his leadership at the Lisbon conference last week. You are, Sergio, a testament to the talent and capabilities of the United Nations at its best. I saw in the quarterly *Foreign Affairs* recently that the United Nations had sent out the A-team of international technocrats to East Timor. I am not sure technocrat is always a compliment, but I think that you and your colleagues in Kosovo, Bosnia and elsewhere really are in that category, although maybe you do not appreciate being compared to Mr. T. — you have got fewer gold chains on and so on. I think your job is tougher than anything that people can imagine, and I think you are doing a great job. And I have to say that you are still better dressed than I am, to my eternal embarrassment.

It is now 10 months since we had our historic open meeting in this Chamber to deplore the violence then raging in Dili. On the one hand, I am struck by how much progress has been made — as we heard this morning — particularly as the focus has shifted from emergency needs to developing consultative mechanisms for interaction with the people of East Timor. This is what the United Nations should be doing. In the midst of our enormous difficulties in other parts of the world, I think we should note here that — as in an earlier era, in Cambodia, Mozambique and Namibia — the United Nations is doing its job. While it is not cheap, let the world see that it is worth it. On the other hand, I am deeply frustrated at the situation with the refugees, to which I wish to return in a moment.

First I want to comment on two absolutely critical operational issues. Despite the outrageous events in the camps — and I will mention those in a minute — I want to say how pleased our Government is to note that Mr. Vieira de Mello has reported that the overall security situation is stabilizing and that the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) can downgrade its security classification. We strongly support the efforts of the Department of Peacekeeping Operations to downsize the peacekeeping elements — the troops — in UNTAET. It is very

important that these plans be codified and made precise, and made public early.

I would like to ask Mr. Vieira de Mello if he would, in the response period, be able to inform us as to when the first major downsizings will occur and what his planned projections and recommendations are. I want to state that the earlier and more visibly he can do this, the better. I would further like to state that my own Government hopes that he can drawdown as quickly as he can, and at the same time, taking into account the very legitimate question of a resurgence of violence by the militia, that the United Nations reserve a capability to reinforce on short notice if a crisis should hit. But he now has over 10,000 personnel in East Timor. While that is entirely appropriate up to now, it is equally important and imperative, given the tremendous demands we are facing — and all of us in this Chamber know that we are about to meet to receive a new request for Ethiopia and Eritrea, on top of southern Lebanon, Kosovo, Sierra Leone and the Democratic Republic of the Congo — that we try to plan long-term for a drawdown. I hope he will be able to inform us about how he intends to do this.

We applaud the Special Representative's increasing shifting of responsibility from peacekeepers to civilian police, and then from civilian police to the newly trained East Timorese police and, at some future date, I assume, an East Timorese defence force. This would allow an even faster and deeper reduction in size.

Let me now turn to the question of a date for independence. Last month, José Ramos-Horta visited us, and we had an opportunity to hear from him about how the East Timorese are feeling about the pace of reconstruction and transition. Many more people had the opportunity to hear directly from the East Timorese during last week's important donors' conference in Lisbon.

We have just heard from Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello about a possible timetable for independence, to take place between 31 August and December of next year — dates proposed by Mr. Gusmão and Mr. Ramos-Horta in Lisbon. I want to associate our Government in the strongest possible terms with that timetable, as proposed, and assuming that the United Nations believes it is appropriate. This would be a historic event, a signal achievement for the United Nations and for the world community. I believe that it is very important to set the date publicly, clearly and early so that the people of East Timor can adjust to it, so that the challenges to it from West Timor can be dealt with swiftly and appropriately by the Indonesian Government — and in this matter we are not satisfied at this point — and so that everyone can be prepared to work on this issue.

But I want to state again, and I know that Sergio agrees with me on this, that the independence date is not the day on which the United Nations leaves. It is the day on which the United Nations continues a transition, but continues to assist the people of East Timor in a different way. The world should not expect a date on which the United Nations just disappears. That would be highly against the interests of stability in all of the South Pacific and the region of the Association of South-East Asian Nations.

The United Nations, however, should not overstay its role as a governing power. It should turn into an advisory power — in other words, the kind of role it is playing in places like Bosnia. This is entirely appropriate. The United States should, and I hope will, support that. I say "I hope" because these decisions will take place under a different Administration. While I cannot commit a future Administration, I can certainly speak for the current one in the strongest possible terms.

Let me now turn to the question of the refugees. I have spoken in the Council many times about this since I returned from East Timor last December. I have described the climate of fear, and I have expressed my Government's outrage. Last February, when Sergio was last here, every member of the Council said that we had to put an end to these militia incursions across the border. We all agreed that full and lasting reconciliation would not be possible until that was done. Yet — and I say this with a combination of sorrow and anger — the climate of fear is still a reality in these camps.

Just last week, one of the most serious of all incidents of the last nine months took place. The Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) had to cease its operations temporarily in the Noelbaki camp after 70 militia members attacked the brave UNHCR staff in that camp. This is inexcusable. Although we support fully the Government in Jakarta, we must again ask whether the Indonesian Government

can control the military officers on West Timor, who are certainly capable of preventing this.

With regard to the resettling of East Timorese, we have heard plan after plan from Jakarta. We support the new plan, which would resettle militia members, former East Timorese members of the Indonesian armed forces and former East Timorese civil servants outside of the island of Timor, as participants in the transmigration programme. But let us get on with it. Jakarta's approval of this plan is a positive sign that the Government of Indonesia is taking the international community seriously and, more importantly, that it wishes to bring stability to West Timor. This is essential if the project that we have been discussing today is to succeed.

While we are encouraged by these decisions on resettlement, we are also deeply shocked by the continuing militia activities along and across the border in East Timor. The Indonesian Government and its military have failed to disarm and disband these militia. But some militia members are now armed with sophisticated weapons — grenades and automatic weapons — that they did not have before. They used them, for example, against an UNTAET outpost in the Bobonaro district on 21 June, just a few days ago. This attack followed a reported increase in cross-border militia actions during the previous two weeks, including an incident in which a United Nations peacekeeper was injured at a bridge on the border.

We strongly believe that the United Nations forces should use force pre-emptively to make clear to the militia that this will not be tolerated. We do not believe that a drawdown in forces is inconsistent with restoring order, because the forces that can be withdrawn are way to the east, in the eastern part of East Timor, where the situation is calm. The areas of difficulty are small, and the people causing the difficulties are well known to the local authorities. I feel very frustrated on this point because I know that everyone in the Council agrees on this, and no one quite understands why the Indonesian Government, which is making such a tremendous effort to grapple with an immense panoply of issues, has been unable to get this particular problem under control. But we need to do it urgently.

Mr. Fowler (Canada)(*spoke in French*): Canada would like to express its gratitude to the Special Representative, Mr. Vieira de Mello, for his efforts. We take great pleasure in seeing him again at this table.

Mr. Vieira de Mello deserves praise for having involved the Timorese very closely in the work of the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) and for having endeavoured to develop local capacity in matters of security and administration, especially through the creation of the National Consultative Council. In this regard, we welcome the fact that East Timor will soon be administered by a Government made up of the Transitional Administration and the National Council of Timorese Resistance (CNRT) during the period of transition to complete independence of the territory.

(*spoke in English*)

Canada shares the concern of many in this room that the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) has felt compelled to suspend activities in three of the largest refugee camps in West Timor because of increasing violence and intimidation. Attacks such as those perpetrated against UNHCR staff last week are, as both Mr. Vieira de Mello and Ambassador Holbrooke just said, nothing less than unacceptable. We agree that militia leaders must honour their commitments not to interfere with the safe return of refugees.

In this regard, I would be grateful if Mr. Vieira de Mello might comment on the extent to which progress is being made in separating militia elements from the general population in these camps and, more specifically, on what additional security guarantees we might anticipate that could usefully be agreed so as to reduce the level of violence and intimidation in the camps and along the border.

As I have pointed out on many occasions in this Chamber and next door, Canada believes that it is essential for the Council to receive advice from military experts before taking important decisions on security matters affecting the operations we have dispatched abroad. I would therefore like to support the request made last month by Ambassador van Walsum for a briefing, perhaps by the Force Commander, before any decision is taken with regard to downsizing UNTAET's military component.

I would like very much to thank Ambassador Greenstock for allowing me to switch speaking positions with him, so as to allow me to catch a one

o'clock plane. While I must speak and run, I assure you, Mr. President, that my delegation will follow this debate on the points I have raised this morning closely. I thank you for your flexibility in allowing me to switch.

Sir Jeremy Greenstock (United Kingdom): I was delighted to oblige the Canadian Ambassador, and we are very grateful to him for speaking before running.

I too would like to thank the Special Representative for being with us today. We are all delighted to see him in New York, and that was an informative and very thought-provoking briefing. I would like to express my country's warm appreciation for his, and his team's, efforts, because despite the difficulties — and he has talked of the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) being the "punching bag" — it is responding impressively to the challenge of building an Administration from the bottom up. They deserve the fullest international support.

When we discussed East Timor in March, I referred to the continuing reports of militia activity as more serious than the problems of increasing criminality. Yet disturbing reports of militia incidents in East and West Timor continue to hit us. Clearly, UNTAET contingents remain at considerable risk, despite the improvements that have been noted. The United Kingdom has urged the Government of Indonesia to get a grip on the situation. That message must go out from the whole Council, and any downsizing of UNTAET must take account of that continuing risk.

We are equally concerned about the refugee situation, and I fully endorse what the Ambassadors of the United States and Canada have said. For all our support for the Government of Indonesia, it has to do more to allow those refugees who still wish to return to East Timor to do so swiftly and speedily. Action has to be taken both to provide pensions for former civil servants wishing to return and to curb the malignant and vicious influence of pro-integration extremists in the refugee camps.

I put those two points first — the militias and the refugees — because they are outside United Nations control, and we have to send a very resounding and collective message on both of them.

What I am going to say now is more within the United Nations capability and needs attention. Last week's East Timor donor conference in Lisbon was an important milestone in the international community's efforts in East Timor. It approved the World Bank and UNTAET Trust Fund work programmes for 2000-2001. It set up specific output measures for implementation of sectoral programmes, UNTAET staffing and the political process over the next six months.

When we discussed East Timor in March, I drew attention to the slow rate of disbursements from the United Nations Trust Fund. Much has been achieved since the Tokyo Conference, six months ago, agreed that simple, flexible, effective and sensitive procedures were needed to maximize the impact of international support for East Timor. But we still do not seem to have achieved the straightforward disbursement we were seeking. UNTAET's efforts to simplify bureaucratic procedures is encouraging. But there are still problems and bottlenecks. All donors have to work to create a comprehensive, coherent development effort rather than a multitude of unconnected bilateral projects. It would help a great deal if UNTAET and the World Bank could set out clear, measurable performance indicators of progress for the coming months and provide regular progress reports.

In the same vein, the UNTAET mission would benefit from an even greater level of autonomy. This would improve efficiency and allow for greater flexibility in the decision-making process. Clarity within the donor community about UNTAET's mandate, both in the field and in New York, and clarity within UNTAET about its own political and financial responsibilities, is also essential. In this continuing search for administrative improvements, we look to the United Nations Development Programme to take the lead in developing capacity-building for the East Timorese public administration, in line with Security Council resolution 1272 (1999).

The United Kingdom welcomes the proposals for sharing power between the East Timorese leaders and UNTAET — what Sergio Vieira de Mello has called "timorization". These proposals will lay the accent on sound governance and open communication, bring the Timorese people closer to the decision-making process and prepare them for assuming democratic government after the elections foreshadowed for the second half of next year. We fully support UNTAET's engagement on East Timorese strategic defence options and on the

status of Falintil. As the Special Representative has indicated, an independent study is set to begin on 7 July on this subject. The United Kingdom will take a detailed view on this once the study is complete. The final decision on security arrangements for an independent East Timor is of course for the East Timorese themselves. In the meantime, we would encourage UNTAET to address Falintil's immediate humanitarian needs.

The United Kingdom pays tribute not just to UNTAET's persistence and fortitude, but also to the East Timorese people, who have shown remarkable patience and understanding in facing these continuing hardships and in suffering conditions that are below the standard of acceptability. The United Kingdom remains committed to helping the people of East Timor at a crucial point in the development of their nation. The international community must continue to do all in its power to bring them comprehensive and coherent support.

Mr. van Walsum (Netherlands): We too would like to thank Mr. Vieira de Mello for his informative briefing, but especially also for everything he and his people are doing in East Timor.

Later in the debate the representative of Portugal will make a statement on behalf of the European Union; it goes without saying that my delegation fully subscribes to that statement. I will therefore raise only a few matters that are not dealt with in the European Union intervention. We subscribe to Mr. Vieira de Mello's positive assessment of the Lisbon conference. It was in Lisbon that Xanana Gusmão observed that participation by the East Timorese was increasing. The Netherlands welcomes that development. We have consistently emphasized that this was essential both as a way to give the East Timorese people a sense of ownership of the reconstruction process and as a necessary ingredient of the preparation for independence.

We are also pleased about the broadening of participation in the National Consultative Council with the inclusion of women, youth representatives and others. It is important to do what we can so that no important group will feel it has been left out. In that respect, Mr. Vieira de Mello mentioned one important group with a strong and acute feeling of frustration; the same group was also referred to at Lisbon by Mr. Gusmão: the Falintil fighters. Mr. Gusmão said that they were living under difficult circumstances and were "almost in a state of revolt". Mr. Vieira de Mello said in his statement that some short-term provisional measures were required to address this problem, but it goes without saying that if the dissatisfaction of the Falintil fighters should ever boil over, we would experience a radical change of scenery in East Timor. It is clear that everything should be done to keep that from happening.

This brings me to the question of a self-defence force for East Timor. We have stated before that the establishment of such a force cannot be the only measure to strengthen the security of East Timor; but it is a necessary one, if only because the United Nations cannot indefinitely provide for East Timor's security. Moreover, it is clear that such a force will be established whether we like it or not. East Timor wants it, and has the right of self-defence under the United Nations Charter. We should not resist this; we should manage it. United Nations involvement will provide the opportunity to ensure that an East Timorese force will conform to the standards of civilian oversight, democratic accountability and international human rights norms and standards.

It would also go a long way towards solving the Falintil issue. Their participation in such a force should be possible. Their background points in the direction of a military career. I would like to point out that, obviously, it is not our idea that we would establish a self-defence force precisely in order to solve the problem of the Falintil; these are two separate problems. But we do not see any reason why it should not be possible to make the solution of one problem coincide with the solution of the other. It is clear that if we manage to absorb the Falintil into a self-defence force it would considerably lessen the risk of some of them taking a different path. And considering that we are dealing with frustrated armed men, anyone can imagine what path I have in mind.

Finally, the security situation: we believe that it still gives rise to concern. The suspension by the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) of activities in three camps is worrisome. Incidents in Noelbaki, Tua Pukan and Naibonat probably involved militia members. The question is, what are the effects of these incidents on the return of refugees? We would be grateful to have information on that.

Also, the armed attack on a post of the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) last week, reportedly with rifles and hand grenades, is a matter for concern. We understand that UNTAET has conducted an investigation, and we are interested in the latest information.

Our question is, what does this mean for UNTAET's analysis of the security situation in East Timor? We agree with what was said by Ambassador Fowler and Ambassador Greenstock, implicitly in reply to Ambassador Holbrooke, when they said that any downsizing of UNTAET's military component must take account of the risks inherent in the West Timor situation. There should be no pressure on UNTAET to downsize its military component on account of the many other crises in the world. There are few instances in the world where the United Nations has assumed such total responsibility for a territory. We should not withdraw prematurely.

Mr. Vieira de Mello described East Timor as a "country at peace". But how safe is East Timor? Because the question may be asked, how safe is West Timor? It cannot be denied that in the vast territory of the Republic of Indonesia there are instances where the authority appear unable to check spontaneous – or less than spontaneous – violence. Ambassador Holbrooke has elaborated enough on this matter, so I will simply state that I agree with everything he has said.

As Ambassador Fowler supported my request, I will now support Ambassador Fowler by stating that the Netherlands expects a serious briefing to the Council on the security situation in East Timor before final decisions on downsizing the military component of UNTAET are taken.

I have one more question, concerning the elections. If the period of August to December 2001 is meant to be the period for elections, I would like to ask Mr. Vieira de Mello if that also means that independence will then immediately have to follow. Let me put it this way: does Mr. Vieira de Mello feel that the elections are the final stage to be followed immediately by independence?

Mr. Hasmy (Malaysia): I wish to thank you, Sir, for organizing this open briefing of the Council on East Timor. We would also like warmly to welcome once again Special Representative Sergio Vieira de Mello and to thank him for his most enlightening briefing on the situation in East Timor.

My delegation is pleased that, overall, the United Nations operation is working quite well and credit must be given to the leadership of the Special Representative and the dedication of all those serving the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET). Due credit must also be given to the East Timorese leadership for its commitment to working with the United Nations in the rebuilding of its homeland. It deserves the continuing support of the international community and this Council.

UNTAET has now begun to move beyond the pressing security aspects of the interim stage to the challenges and post-conflict reintegration, reconstruction and development. In this regard, we note the very positive response of the international community to the donor's conference held in Lisbon last week, which surpassed our expectations. We note that the commitments undertaken in Lisbon will be followed up. The Lisbon meeting highlighted the fact that dynamic and interactive cooperation among Member States, the United Nations and the Bretton Woods institutions can yield positive results. Malaysia commends Portugal for its stewardship of that successful meeting. We believe that the Lisbon meeting marked a turning point in international assistance for East Timor, from providing humanitarian assistance to implementing reconstruction programmes in key sectors, such as education, health and agriculture. On its part, as a neighbour, Malaysia will continue to participate in the various activities of UNTAET and is ready to support East Timor through its technical cooperation programme.

We note that the National Consultative Council has approved a budget of $59.23 million to help rebuild East Timor. We also note with satisfaction that UNTAET and the World Bank have signed a $12.7 million grant to help revamp the East Timorese health sector. This first instalment is part of a three-year project that is expected to have a total budget of $37 million.

We wish to commend Special Representative Vieira de Mello for his decision to accelerate the "Timorization" of the East Timor Administration, under which East Timorese ministers would serve together with United Nations officials in a cabinet expected to begin its work next July. We are pleased that the East Timorese independence leaders Xanana Gusmão and José Ramos-Horta have reacted positively to this proposal. We think this decision is a step in the

right direction and that Security Council resolution 1272 (1999) gives the Secretary-General sufficient latitude to make the necessary changes in East Timor's Administration. With this change, there will be a real partnership between the United Nations and the East Timorese leadership, thereby giving the East Timorese early hands-on experience in administering their country.

My delegation also notes with satisfaction the decision of the Special Representative to expand more than two-fold the size of the National Consultative Council and to make it more Timorese. We believe that this decision represents a positive response by UNTAET to the increasing expectation of the East Timorese leaders that they will have greater involvement in shaping the territory's future in the lead-up to independence.

We are also pleased with the efforts being made by the Special Representative to improve and consolidate relations with East Timor's nearest and most important neighbour: Indonesia. We commend President Abdurrahman Wahid for the prompt and positive steps he has taken towards reconciliation between his country and East Timor, including his important visit to Dili and the ongoing contacts between his Government and UNTAET. We look forward to even closer and more concrete cooperation between Indonesia and the United Nations, especially in respect of the activities of the militias.

We regret the slow pace of the return of refugees from West Timor. We urge the militias to put the past behind them, to work towards national reconciliation and to facilitate the return of up to 100,000 refugees from West Timor. We recognize that, in the context of the recent past, this will be a difficult undertaking, but the future of East Timor can be guaranteed only by the prospect of early reconciliation between the two sides, thereby enabling all East Timorese to participate fully in the political, economic and social life of the country upon independence. In this regard, we welcome the establishment of the National Reconciliation Council.

We think that the dissemination of information has an important role to play, especially in countering the misinformation and active propaganda that are circulating in the refugee camps. Like others, we believe that measures to promote the repatriation of refugees need to be intensified, including more border reunion meetings between families. We also hope that there will be an amicable resolution with the Indonesian authorities on the question of pensions for former civil servants in the Indonesian administration who are no living in West Timorese camps. We believe that the early resolution of this issue will expedite the return of the refugees to East Timor.

Finally, we believe that practical measures have to be worked out to open a corridor between East Timor and the Oecussi enclave in West Timor. We take note of the recent proposal by the Indonesian Foreign Minister relocate up to 10,000 pro-Indonesian militia members and their families to about 20 kilometres from the border in an attempt to ease tensions. We wish to know whether there has been progress in this area.

We deplore the attack that occurred last Wednesday, presumably by the pro-integration militias, in which grenades were thrown at an Australian-manned military post north of Maliana. We are equally perturbed at the extremely worrisome security incidents that occurred on 16 and 17 June, all pointing to a pattern of increased tensions, which prompted humanitarian agencies to halt their work in Noelbaki and nearby Tua Pukan and Naibonat camps near Kupang.

Malaysia also condemns the ransacking of an East Timor support organization in Jakarta in late May as a brutal and cowardly act which runs counter to the efforts towards the normalization of relations between Indonesia and East Timor. This is a sign of frustration on the part of the militias, which have been denied their aim of conducting acts of violence against the emerging leadership in East Timor during the transition. We are confident that UNTAET and the local authorities are capable of dealing with the incident appropriately.

My delegation acknowledges that there are many remaining challenges for East Timor, but that remarkable progress has been achieved in so short a period. While the process is a gradual one, as it should be, the progression towards independence, which is well in sight, has been sure and steady under the tutelage of the United Nations and with the continuing support of the international community.

On the question of the timing of independence for East Timor, Malaysia supports the early granting of independence, but at a date and time when the East Timorese are ready and able to assume responsibility for governing themselves.

Mr. Shen Guofang (China) (*spoke in Chinese*): Like other delegations, the Chinese delegation would like to thank the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello, for his detailed and informative briefing. We appreciate the enormous work done by Mr. Vieira de Mello and his team in extremely conditions.

Although there continue to be occasional violent incidents, we are pleased to note that, since Mr. Vieira de Mello last came to brief the Council, UNTAET has made notable progress in the reconstruction of housing and infrastructure, the maintenance of law and order, the promotion of human rights, the drafting of legislation and the creation of local job opportunities and training programmes. We are also pleased to note that Mr. Vieira de Mello has maintained good and cooperative relations with the Indonesian Government and the parties in East Timor.

We welcome the positive results of the Lisbon donor conference. We believe that they will provide sufficient resources for the reconstruction in East Timor and lay a solid financial basis for East Timor to make its transition to independence.

China supports the work of UNTAET and is ready to continue to contribute civilian police and experts. Within our capabilities, we will continue to provide assistance to East Timor through bilateral channels.

We are concerned about the problem of the refugees remaining in West Timor, and we hope that UNTAET will resolve this problem as soon as possible, through continued consultation with the Government of Indonesia.

China is also very concerned about the security status of the minorities in East Timor, and we hope that UNTAET will continue its work to encourage harmonious relations among all the ethnic groups.

The people of East Timor have attach hopes to the United Nations. At the same time, the United Nations still faces arduous tasks in the country and should carry them out with a sense of urgency. In our view, what is important is the principle of putting the interest of the East Timorese above all else.

We fully support the work of the National Consultative Council. It is a very good way to encourage local participation. We endorse UNTAET's intention to take further steps to achieve greater and more effective local participation in the work of this transitional period, especially the decision-making process, so that the East Timorese can stand on their own as soon as possible.

Mr. Theron (Namibia): I wish to join other delegations in thanking Special Representative Vieira de Mello for his interesting and comprehensive briefing on the situation in East Timor and the work of the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET). I also want at the outset to commend Mr. Vieira de Mello and his staff for the skill and dedication with which they are performing their work. The notable progress and successes of UNTAET are testimony of this.

Today's briefing, in our assessment, has shown that, despite obstacles, considerable progress has been achieved in East Timor. This progress began with the relief efforts last year after the large-scale destruction of the territory and led to where we are today, with solid plans for major reconstruction and development programmes. It has to be admitted, though, that serious challenges remain for the implementation of the reconstruction programmes. We have noted and support Mr. Vieira de Mello's proposals on how to address these challenges.

However, with the excellent support pledged at the donor conference hosted by the Government of Portugal last week, as well as the endorsement of the work programme for the territory's development, my delegation is confident that these programmes will be implemented in a successful and timely fashion. My delegation is particularly gratified to learn today that many of the earlier obstacles that hampered rehabilitation work — such as the slow disbursement of funds — are being overcome.

In rebuilding societies and nations it is always important that the groundwork be properly laid. East Timor is certainly on the right track, and we welcome the continuing efforts to achieve reconciliation and nation-building. In this regard, we strongly support the establishment of a national reconciliation commission. We also support the work of the National Consultative Council in its work to bring East Timorese together.

Also of great significance to my delegation was the recent convening in Dili of the first congress on women's issues. It was a commendable early start to women's efforts to ensure that their views are fully taken into consideration during the development of the territory.

While welcoming the overall stability in the security situation, my delegation deplores the recent attacks on peacekeeping forces. We furthermore share the concerns expressed by other delegations about the assaults on personnel of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, which resulted in the withdrawal of personnel from three major refugee camps in the Kupang area. We trust that concrete steps will be taken to ensure the safety and security of relief workers. My delegation also remains concerned about the reports of continuing militia activities in the refugee camps in West Timor.

With regard to the return of refugees, my delegation has noted that repatriation continues, although the rate of return has slowed over the past two months. We agree with Mr. Vieira de Mello that Indonesia should be assisted by the international community in resettling refugees that wish to remain in West Timor. On this point, I wonder if it is possible for Mr. Vieira de Mello at this stage to tell us with what degree of certainty we can determine the number of refugees that may wish to stay in West Timor.

Finally, my delegation again wishes to reiterate its support and encouragement for Mr. Vieira de Mello and all the staff of UNTAET in their difficult work ahead.

Mr. Ahmed (Bangladesh): Let me begin by thanking you, Mr. President, for scheduling this open debate on East Timor. We are grateful to the Special Representative, Sergio Vieira de Mello, whom we heartily welcome in our midst, for the comprehensive and informative briefing on the latest developments in East Timor.

After his last appearance here, in early February, it was indeed time we heard from Mr. Vieira de Mello. We greatly appreciate the commendable efforts that the Special Representative and his team in the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) are making in East Timor. It is no mean achievement that initial obstacles delaying the rehabilitation work have been overcome.

The situation in East Timor presents us with a range of issues that are germane to a nation in the making. Some of the issues were born out of the violence and destruction that marked the initial phase after the landmark referendum last year.

We refer here to the issues of security, the repatriation of refugees, the financial situation, poverty and unemployment, health and education, investigation of human rights violations, reconstruction of infrastructure and restoration of civil and judicial administration. This list, however, is not exhaustive.

On earlier occasions we raised some of these issues and took note of the progress thus far made. Today we heard Mr. Vieira de Mello update us on some of these aspects. We would nevertheless like to make a few points.

Since early May we have noticed a drag on the process of repatriation. There appears to be some difficulty in determining the number of refugees in the camps in West Timor. The Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees was to have conducted a registration, which would have given a clear idea of the number of refugees. We are also concerned at the reports of intimidation of the refugees, with the ulterior objective of dissuading them from returning. On the other hand, there is also the issue of the emotions that are prevalent among the population of East Timor regarding the returnees.

All these issues adversely affect the repatriation process. We therefore remain concerned at the sluggish repatriation of refugees and urge all concerned to redouble their efforts to achieve a speedy solution.

We note with appreciation the encouraging results of the various income generation projects. We commend the contribution of the Quick Impact Projects and the transitional employment projects to the improvement of the unemployment and poverty situation. But all of these are short- to medium-term issues. For a long-term perspective, issues of investment and trade need to be addressed. Small enterprise and private business are keys to substantial progress in this area. We urge the investment promotion unit of UNTAET to take a more innovative approach to addressing the situation.

We have all along emphasized the need to focus on the role of women in peace and development in East Timor. We commend the organizers of the first National Women's Congress, held recently in Dili, and hope that the overarching theme of equitable development and national reconstruction will provide the opportunity for future discourse on women's role in education, health, development and reconciliation. We

hope the outcome will be regularly and systematically followed up at appropriate stages.

We are heartened by the increasing cooperation between UNTAET and the Indonesian authorities in various areas of activity in times of peace as well as in times of distress. The floods that devastated West Timor last month were one such occasion. UNTAET played a timely and brave role, which we deeply appreciate.

The ongoing cooperation with respect to judicial issues, investigation of human rights violations, cultural artifacts, archives, pension assets and border issues augurs well for the future of cooperation and cohabitation between the territory and its next-door neighbour.

This brings us to an issue which I believe is of profound concern to everyone. It pertains to the protection and security of the ethnic minority in East Timor. Notwithstanding the efforts that the East Timor leadership and UNTAET have made, we have seen disturbing evidence of a clear rise in intolerance for the ethnic minorities. There are reports also of religious intolerance, which manifested in some recent incidents. These are disquieting signs that must be taken very seriously.

We strongly urge the East Timorese leadership and UNTAET officials to investigate thoroughly every such incident and take the necessary measures to prevent their recurrence. We welcome the efforts to develop the national reconciliation commission, which we believe is an important step.

The international community in turn has to support all of these ongoing efforts in East Timor. We are very encouraged by the result of the two-day donor meeting held in Lisbon, which is a manifestation of the trust and confidence of the international community in the work done so far in East Timor. We believe this confidence was critically important for UNTAET and the East Timorese population. We would urge that in the coming months the policy of imparting to the East Timorese people a sense of ownership of development efforts be given more visibility.

Mr. Sergeev (Russian Federation) (*spoke in Russian*): We are grateful to the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Vieira de Mello, for his briefing, which has given us a clear idea of the difficult and large-scale work which is being carried out by the mission he heads, and for the in-depth analysis he has just given us of what has to be done in future.

The dynamics on the island are positive, although the situation is not without problems. In his statement, Mr. Vieira de Mello gave us a clear idea of the challenges faced by the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET).

We are pleased with reports that contacts between UNTAET and Indonesia continue to be strengthened, as this promotes the overall trend towards stabilization on the island. Positive examples of cooperation in various areas include Indonesia's agreement to grant 162 scholarships to East Timorese students and also to enable students who earlier had been forced to interrupt their studies in Indonesian educational institutions to complete their education.

Also important is the agreement with the Office of the Indonesian Attorney-General to go forward with inquiries on the five most infamous crimes committed in East Timor in the fall of 1999, presumably by the Indonesian military.

All of these are positive indicators. However, we remain concerned at the fact that the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees was forced to take a decision to put an end to its activities in the three largest refugee camps in West Timor in response to hostile actions committed by opponents of East Timorese independence. We believe that the local authorities should take all of the necessary measures to prevent a repetition of such incidents in future. This would help to resolve the refugee problem, which in turn would be in keeping with the interests of both Indonesia and East Timor.

Needless to say, one of UNTAET's major areas of activity remains the promotion of national reconciliation in East Timor. We believe that the steps taken to that end, including the establishment of a dialogue with integrationist political figures and the agreement on a new structure for the National Consultative Council, should be commended and supported by the Security Council. Naturally, we believe this to be to the credit of the head of UNTAET, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Vieira de Mello.

M. Durrant (Jamaica): My delegation joins previous speakers in welcoming the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Sergio

Vieira de Mello, and in thanking him for his usual lucid briefing and his frank yet optimistic assessment of the situation in East Timor and on the mission of the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET).

The Special Representative of the Secretary-General, in his presentation, addressed the central objectives that must be achieved by UNTAET in the process leading up to independence, in relation in particular to the security situation, refugees, the humanitarian situation, the judicial situation, reconstruction, the establishment of an East Timorese administration and a political transition.

As my delegation has emphasized in previous briefings, the participation of the East Timorese in creating and building institutions of governance and public administration is of fundamental importance if they are to have a sense of ownership of the process leading up to independence.

We are therefore heartened by UNTAET's decision to respond to the East Timorese by sharing governmental responsibility and having East Timorese political figures given political responsibility for their decisions.

We also agree with the Special Representative of the Secretary-General that the process of co-government is in keeping with resolution 1272 (1999), which mandates UNTAET to support capacity-building for self-government. The expansion of the National Consultative Council from 15 to 33 members, with wide representation from throughout the territory and from a wide range of civil society, is an important development. Arrangements for the East Timorese to participate in planning, prioritizing and approval of development proposals and projects is an important part of this capacity-building.

There have been other positive developments which my delegation applauds. These include the conference on reconstruction held at the end of May and the focus on health, education, infrastructure, community empowerment, agriculture and education, as these will provide the foundation for future sustainable development in East Timor.

The grant of $12.7 million from the World Bank to rehabilitate hospitals and clinics should lay the foundation for an efficient health system. The recent donor meeting in Lisbon is also another welcome development, and my delegation notes the positive response of the donor community. We hope that these commitments will be followed by the early disbursement of funds for reconstruction and rehabilitation.

One area of concern to my delegation continues to be the unemployment situation. Although we recognize that efforts have been made to create short-term employment, we believe that long-term solutions must be found by involving job creation through the development of private enterprises, and we would wish to ascertain from the Special Representative of the Secretary-General the actions taken by UNTAET in this regard.

My delegation's optimism is tempered by the recent reports relating to the status of refugees and to the actions of the militias. We are deeply disturbed by the news that the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) has had to suspend operations to repatriate East Timorese from three camps in West Timor because of security concerns, and we believe that security guarantees must be provided to allow the UNHCR staff to continue their work unhindered. Equally, my delegation regards as unacceptable the reported attacks by suspected militias on United Nations peacekeepers. The sporadic incidents of violence, particularly along the border between East Timor and West Timor, continue to be of concern. We have noted the cooperation that has been developed between UNTAET and the Government of Indonesia, and we hope that these issues relating to the activities of the militias and to the status of refugees will be addressed with a sense of urgency.

The status of minorities is also of concern to my delegation, and in this regard the establishment of a national reconciliation council could act as an important catalyst.

In conclusion, my delegation wishes to commend the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and the men and women of UNTAET for their dedicated and dynamic service, which has seen the transformation of East Timor over the past 10 months. We also commend the people of East Timor and their leaders and wish to assure them of our continued support as they move towards independence. The East Timorese have high expectations of the international community and of the United Nations. We must not let them down.

Mr. Krokhmal (Ukraine): I would like to join previous speakers in thanking Mr. Vieira de Mello for his comprehensive briefing, which provided us with a clear and objective picture of the situation in East Timor and of the activities of the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET).

Let me begin by focusing on the matter of involving East Timorese in the reconstruction and administration of the territory. My delegation fully supports UNTAET's activities in this respect, which are very important. UNTAET has made significant progress in establishing key elements of the civil administration. It is clear that the active involvement of the East Timorese in local governance is essential for the transition of East Timor to independence. It should remain among the main priority tasks of UNTAET. We think that the National Consultative Council, through which the East Timorese participate in the decision-making process, should play a very important role in this field. We note with satisfaction that UNTAET and the National Council of Timorese Resistance have agreed on a new composition and structure of the National Consultative Council. This will certainly help to improve the activities of the main decision-making body in East Timor and will enhance its transparency.

Despite the fact that the general security situation has been improved, a number of serious incidents, including those taking place across the border, have been reported from East Timor. We are pleased to note that the deployment of the main part of UNTAET's civilian police component has been completed and we would also like to underline the fact that the civilian police have contributed enormously to ensuring relative security in East Timor as well as to developing the police force. Ukraine will continue its support for the efforts of UNTAET's civilian police aimed at fulfilling the tasks entrusted to it by the Security Council.

We believe that the question of refugees is central to the reconciliation process. The safe return of refugees from West Timor to East Timor remains one of the main problems faced by UNTAET. We continue to be concerned about conditions for the refugees in the camps in West Timor and about the decreasing number of returnees.

Turning to economic matters, poverty and unemployment are posing serious threats to internal stability in East Timor. The prompt implementation of various employment-generating projects and programmes, as well as reconstruction of the local economic and financial sectors, are of critical importance in terms of regaining normality in East Timor. We would like to underline the need for improved coordination among UNTAET, the World Bank and all the agencies involved in the field of the practical implementation of the reconstruction projects and programmes.

My delegation also welcomes the East Timor donor's meeting in Lisbon, and we are encouraged by the conclusion of grant agreements between the World Bank and UNTAET in the educational and agricultural sectors.

In conclusion, I wish to pay tribute to the efforts made by Mr. Vieira de Mello and his team, especially in the current circumstances in which they are carrying out their tasks.

Mr. Cappagli (Argentina) (*spoke in Spanish*): I should like first of all to thank the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello, for the complete and useful information he has given us. I also want to thank you, Mr. President, for having organized this important meeting. My delegation has always emphasized the value of having as many open meetings of the Security Council as possible, in which all the Members of the Organization, and not just the members of the Council, can participate and exchange views about a given issue.

More than eight months have gone by since the Council established the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET), and it is therefore timely to observe what has been achieved so far and to assess the main challenges that the future holds.

From the standpoint of what has already been accomplished, the magnitude of UNTAET's task is worthy of note. Humanitarian assistance initiatives were able to prevent the deaths of hundreds of thousands of people, which might have occurred as a result of the wave of violence of 1999 or the natural disasters that have taken place since then. Furthermore, action in this field has also made it possible for more than 164,000 people to return to the territory and to their homes. Likewise, we must praise the initiatives of the United Nations in establishing political and social institutions that will serve as a basis for the future independent state. It is particularly positive that the

East Timorese leaders represented in the National Consultative Council have always been consulted and that their views have been taken into account in the establishment of those institutions.

From the standpoint of future challenges, the task of the United Nations is equally daunting. First of all, in the hope that we have already seen the worst of the humanitarian crisis, we must adopt an approach that focuses more on economic and social development than on emergency assistance. Likewise, we must continue with the task of consolidating the institutions that have already been created and adapt them to the new realities. Bearing this in mind, the donor conference recently held in Lisbon demonstrated that the commitment of the international community to East Timor remains intact. We believe this will make it possible to continue reconstruction efforts in such key sectors as health, education, basic infrastructure, community development and agriculture. The World Bank projects in this connection are extremely useful.

In a different context, the initiative of East Timorese leaders to provide a new structure and functions for the National Consultative Council is of vital importance, since that body will make it possible for the local population to increasingly assume responsibilities in preparation for independent life.

All of this does not mean that there are no longer humanitarian questions that require attention. First and perhaps most urgent among those questions is the need to put an end to the suffering of the thousands of refugees still in West Timor. Doing this will require the cooperation of all the parties concerned. In this regard, I wish to point out that my delegation is deeply concerned at the gravity of the current situation, particularly in the three camps where the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees has had to suspend its activities. On the other hand, I would like to express the confidence of my delegation that the Indonesian authorities will continue to display a constructive approach that will make it possible to overcome the current impasse.

Security conditions in the border areas and in the interior of the territory have also proved to be precarious. There is also a need for the cooperation of all the parties in order to improve the situation in this regard. In connection with these issues — while we appreciate the readiness of the Indonesian authorities and the efforts they have made thus far — we call for a continued fulfilment of the commitments that have been undertaken.

In conclusion, allow me to associate myself with the remarks of speakers who preceded me regarding the excellent work being done by Mr. Vieira de Mello and the rest of the personnel of UNTAET. I wish to convey the gratitude of the Government of Argentina to Mr. Vieira de Mello and the UNTAET staff for their tireless efforts, courage and dedication.

Mr. Jerandi (Tunisia) (*spoke in French*): We join other members of the Security Council in thanking Mr. Vieira de Mello for his comprehensive and clear statement on the development of the situation in East Timor since his last visit, on 2 February. We are pleased to note that, thanks to the efforts of Mr. Vieira de Mello and his team, the situation on the ground since the last meeting has greatly evolved in a positive direction. Their efforts deserve to be acknowledged here.

The concrete results achieved, and the strengthening of relations between the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) and the Indonesian Government, on the one hand, and among the Timorese themselves, on the other, is but further proof of the favourable overall climate prevailing on the ground.

Attacks against United Nations personnel and sites continue, a factor that disrupts UNTAET's efforts to guarantee stability and re-establish confidence among all the parties.

We have emphasized on many occasions the important role of humanitarian organizations in East Timor. We have also called for their capacity to be strengthened and for them to be assured of favourable conditions to carry out their duties. Nevertheless, it is regrettable that the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and other organizations have suspended their activities in three East Timorese refugee camps.

It must be recognized that Mr. Vieira de Mello's efforts, and the determination of the Government of Indonesia to cooperate with UNTAET, continue to be consolidated. The visit of the Governor of West Timor to East Timor and Mr. Vieira de Mello's talks with the Indonesian President in Jakarta are evidence of the goodwill of the parties to speed up the return of refugees to East Timor. In this connection, we are

gratified by the decision taken by UNTAET in cooperation with the Government of West Timor and the Consultative Council of East Timor to begin a new repatriation operation for the 120,000 refugees still in camps in West Timor.

The donors' conference held in Lisbon last week was a very important event for the East Timorese. In this context, we welcome the international community's financial support for East Timor, which has once again been renewed and strengthens the political support that has already been extended. We believe this support can be a catalyst for all the parties in East Timor to begin a new phase that will lead to the establishment of a Timorese administration and ensure lasting development for that country.

Finally, it is our hope that the forthcoming talks to be held on 28 and 29 June between UNTAET and the Indonesian Government will make it possible for the two parties to find solutions to various outstanding issues and consolidate the results that have been achieved.

Mr. Keita (Mali) (*spoke in French*): I would first like to say how greatly I appreciate the holding of this briefing on East Timor. Like other delegations, I would like to thank the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for his very exhaustive briefing and to assure him of my delegation's support for his efforts on behalf of the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET).

The progress achieved in East Timor is a source of satisfaction and motivation for the entire international community. This was far from certain a few months ago because of the daily changes in the situation, and in large part it has been due to the great skill and positive action of the Special Representative. Life is re-emerging from the ruins. Public services are increasingly opening their doors to Timorese. The reopening of schools and health centres, reconstruction, the collection of taxes, economic recovery and the return of refugees are also positive developments under way.

In spite of this generally positive overview, some issues remain sources of concern. Economically speaking, the establishment of microcredit systems, the increase in the number of businesses and the collection of taxes and customs duties are encouraging developments. The contributions announced at the end of the Lisbon donors' conference and the commitment of international financial institutions will undoubtedly make it possible to begin projects and to integrate the economy of East Timor into the international economic network. That economic recovery will make it possible to increase stability and security in the country.

With regard to refugee returns, my delegation would like to see further developments in the gradual neutralization of militia activities on the borders and in the camps. We also encourage Indonesia to strengthen its presence on the border as part of the implementation of the agreement of 11 April and to become involved with humanitarian organizations and UNTAET to enable the definitive return of all those who wish to return to East Timor.

Attacks on the camps of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) in West Timor are a source of concern for us. We condemn those attacks and believe that UNHCR should have all the necessary support to achieve its objectives.

My delegation also welcomes the gradual establishment of a climate of security in East Timor and firmly condemns attacks against various posts. We also ask that UNTAET continue its training of local police so as to deal with persistent criminality and to maintain public order so that the Timorese are better prepared for independence. Attacks against these posts in many ways illustrate the challenges that must still be overcome.

On the political front, my delegation welcomes the intensification of political activity in East Timor. UNTAET has achieved notable progress in the establishment of a United Nations civil administration. It should now see to it that the participation of the East Timorese people in the elections scheduled for next year takes place actively, calmly, transparently and democratically.

The briefing given to us by the Special Representative enables us to observe that the remaining challenges are still enormous, despite the considerable progress we have achieved. It is therefore up to us to provide the necessary support so that the people of East Timor can gradually come to terms with one another in the near future.

The President (*spoke in French*): I shall now make a brief statement in my capacity as representative of France. I shall limit myself to just a few comments.

In the course of our discussion, the representative of Portugal will in the course of our discussion, make a statement on behalf of the European Union, to which my delegation subscribes fully.

My comments will bear on three points. Firstly, I would like to recall France's extremely positive assessment of the considerable work carried out by Mr. Vieira de Mello and his team in East Timor since the establishment of the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET). Thanks to the United Nations, the situation in East Timor is now stable; progress has been made in the building of the Timorese administration; the national reconciliation process has begun. France unreservedly supports the continuation of these activities.

In this otherwise positive context, the main cause for concern, which is not directly linked to UNTAET activities, is the refugee populations in West Timor. We must allow those who wish to return to East Timor to do so in full freedom. For that reason, it is vital that the Indonesian authorities put an end, as they have committed themselves to do so, to militia activity and perhaps make it possible for those who do not wish to return to East Timor to be able to settle in other parts of Indonesia.

Secondly, I wish to point out how important it is to involve the Timorese as much as possible in the ongoing transition process. Steps have already been taken to this end, including the establishment of a National Consultative Committee. Now we must go even further. We welcome the fact that Mr. Vieira de Mello has been able to continue negotiations with all Timorese political leaders so as to establish in the near future an exemplary transition towards a normal system of government. The establishment of a coalition Government and of a genuine legislative body, as well as the organization of elections before the end of next year, will be milestones in that transition.

In that context, Mr. Vieira de Mello could perhaps inform us, having had consultations with Timorese political officials, of the choice of a target date for independence. Like others, I wish to emphasize that independence will in no way mean the end of the United Nations family's presence in Timor. It will mean that this will be maintained in other forms. In this spirit, we welcome the initial reduction of personnel in UNTAET, confirmed by Mr. Vieira de Mello. We believe the calming of the local situation allows a substantial and gradual reduction of military personnel by the end of the year, and then in the first half of the year 2001 — without, of course, jeopardizing the security arrangements on the border.

We believe the speedy training and the strengthening of an effective and competent local police force is a matter of priority in order to ensure a smooth transition. UNTAET's abrupt departure at the end of its mandate could be a major destabilizing factor for the newly independent country. We must plan and organize a downsizing of the force over time.

The third and last point, but not the least one, is to ensure that East Timor, by the end of the current transition process, can be a viable State, capable, *inter alia*, of achieving self-sufficiency in agriculture and of developing a number of exports, such as coffee and oil. In this regard, I would like to ask Mr. Vieira de Mello about the state of discussions under way between UNTAET and Australia on the treaty on the Timor Gap.

I would also like to ask him about assistance measures to develop the private sector. Does he believe that these measures are adequate? Has specific financing for small and medium-sized enterprises and industries been set up by the major development banks, in particular the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank?

I now resume my functions as President of the Security Council.

The next speaker on my list is the Permanent Representative of Japan. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Satoh (Japan): Eight months have passed since the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) was established. We welcome the progress made throughout East Timor during that time, thanks in no small measure to the dedicated efforts of the UNTAET staff under the able leadership of Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello, who was mandated with the enormous task of rehabilitating and reconstructing East Timor virtually from scratch.

This is not to say, however, that the problems confronting East Timor have been resolved. Indeed, UNTAET's continuing role in guiding East Timor on its path to independence will not be an easy one. Continuous efforts are needed on various fronts, including national reconciliation and the creation of

employment. The fate of East Timorese refugees in West Timor, too, still remains a matter of great concern. In that regard, we commend and support the efforts made by the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR).

As we reiterated at the second donor's conference, held in Lisbon last week, Japan remains determined to extend assistance to the best of its ability to UNTAET and to the people of East Timor, and hopes that the international community will likewise continue to provide support to them.

I would like to add in this context that today's meeting is extremely important as a means of maintaining international interest in East Timor. I therefore pay tribute to you, Mr. President, for inviting non-Council members to present their views.

Japan, for its part, is also striving to ensure that East Timor remains on the international agenda. In December of last year, for example, Japan hosted the first international donors' meeting, and our Foreign Minister, Mr. Yohei Kono, who visited Dili in April, intends to take up the subject of East Timor at the G-8 Foreign Ministers meeting to be held in Japan in July.

Today I would like to comment on a number of points to which Japan attaches particular importance as East Timor continues its nation-building efforts.

First, it is essential that East Timor build a relationship of friendship and cooperation with interested countries, including its neighbours, in order to lay the ground for its future independence and prosperity. In the belief that East Timor's reconstruction and development efforts could benefit from the active involvement of countries in the region, the Foreign Ministers of Japan and of Singapore recently agreed to collaborate in providing assistance for human resources development in East Timor. We also believe that it would be worthwhile for East Timor to engage in dialogue with its neighbouring countries, including the members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN), on regional cooperation.

Secondly, it is important for UNTAET to improve its public information efforts among the East Timorese population. It is reported that in the face of massive unemployment and the slow pace of economic development, the people of East Timor are feeling increasingly frustrated. Because that frustration is sometimes expressed in the form of criticism of UNTAET, greater efforts are necessary, particularly at the grass-roots level, to help the people correctly understand the nature and the limits of the role which the United Nations can play.

In an effort to bridge that communication gap, the Japanese Government recently provided funding to UNTAET to cover the cost of distributing 8,500 radio sets among the local population.

At the same time, the people of East Timor must recognize that the nation-building process depends much on their own self-help efforts. It is up to the United Nations and the international community to foster a culture of self-help by involving the local population directly in their country's nation-building efforts, with the goal of eventually turning over the process to the East Timorese. In this regard, we support UNTAET's policy to seek greater participation by the local population in the administration and in the decision-making process.

As we all know, nation-building is a painstakingly slow and long process, and will have to continue long after East Timor becomes independent. I would therefore like to caution against setting the benchmarks for the attainment of independence unrealistically high. We must not harbour the illusion that all of East Timor's problems will be resolved during UNTAET's time there.

On the other hand, it goes without saying that donor countries are likewise expected to continue their efforts. In this respect, we welcome the reaffirmation of pledges made by donors at the second donor's conference, held in Lisbon last week. We also welcome the commitment demonstrated by the donors at the conference to the timely disbursement of their pledges. I would also like to stress that it is very important for donors to give priority to those projects that address the immediate needs of the East Timorese and that may be expected to show quick results. Needless to say, the restructuring of UNTAET which is now being considered will have to focus on strengthening UNTAET's aid-coordination function in order to avoid duplication and to ensure that the assistance extended by donors is put to the best possible use.

Finally, we must not forget the security requirements in East Timor. Unless its security is constantly maintained, efforts for the nation-building of East Timor cannot proceed smoothly. Fundamental to ensuring East Timor's security is, indeed, national

reconciliation, and further efforts towards that end are essential. We were relieved that incidents by former pro-integration militia members in the border areas decreased, thanks to efforts by the Indonesian Government, but certain more recent incidents near the border raise some concern. We hope that the Indonesian Government will continue its efforts to eliminate the security threats posed by these elements.

As East Timor proceeds towards independence, the local population, donor countries and agencies, as well as the United Nations and UNTAET, all have essential roles to play. The Government of Japan, for its part, will continue to cooperate to the best of its ability.

The President (*spoke in French*): The next speaker is the Permanent Representative of Portugal. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Monteiro (Portugal) (*spoke in French*): Permit me at the outset, Mr. President, to say how grateful I am to you and to the other members of the Security Council for having convened this public debate, making it possible for all Members of the United Nations to hear a very important briefing by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General.

(*spoke in English*)

I have the honour to speak on behalf of the European Union. The Central and Eastern European countries associated with the European Union — Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, Slovakia and Slovenia — and the associated countries Cyprus, Malta and Turkey, as well as the European Free Trade Association country member of the European Economic Area Iceland, align themselves with this statement.

On behalf of the European Union, I would like to welcome Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello and to thank him for the briefing he delivered today. We are grateful for the positive work done so far by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and his team and for their determination to implement the mandate of the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET).

As reiterated this month by the Council of Ministers of the European Union, the European Union reaffirms its policy of solidarity with the people of East Timor and its support for UNTAET in its effort to meet one of the greatest challenges facing the United Nations: leading East Timor towards independence.

Eight months ago, the Security Council established UNTAET with the responsibility for the administration of a territory that had been vastly devastated by those unwilling to accept the results of the popular consultation. The mandate embraces a number of tasks: security and maintenance of law and order, the development of civil and social services, humanitarian assistance, support of capacity-building for self-government, rehabilitation and development assistance, among other areas of responsibility. In fact, the scale of this challenge should not be underestimated, in particular given the legitimately high expectations the East Timorese have about their future; their future depends greatly upon the United Nations.

Therefore, the support and assistance of the international community for the reconstruction and rehabilitation of the territory will be essential. UNTAET needs funding to be effective. It also needs to manage carefully the resources that have already been allocated. The European Union stresses the urgent need for pledges made at the December 1999 donors conference in Tokyo to be delivered and disbursed quickly, and considers that the donor community should give full support to the East Timor consolidated budget for the fiscal year 2000-2001. We urge the Secretariat and UNTAET swiftly to take concrete steps to overcome any barriers to disbursement.

Bureaucracy should not be allowed to become a major obstacle to getting things done in the field. The European Union stresses the need to reinforce coordination efforts within the United Nations system, with UNTAET, with the World Bank and also with non-governmental organizations working in the field.

The European Union reiterates its commitment to assistance to the territory's reconstruction process. The European Union is contributing through its financing proposal of 39 million euros — 19 million euros in 2000 and 20 million in 2001 — with a total contribution of 60 million euros envisaged over the next three years. These funds are intended to support the programme for rehabilitation and reconstruction in East Timor, through the trust fund set up by the World Bank. Overall, European Union aid amounts to 162 million euros already paid. That figure does not include

the significant contribution that European Union member States are providing on a national basis to the existing trust funds and through other mechanisms.

In this first phase of the transitional administration, East Timor has faced serious obstacles: the total lack of infrastructure as a result of the massive destruction, extremely high levels of unemployment; the continuing crisis of the refugees, and the threatening militia incursions from West Timor. Despite many improvements, there are still reasons to be concerned.

The situation of the tens of thousands of East Timorese refugees in West Timor needs an urgent solution. The European Union commends the efforts being made by UNTAET, the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and non-governmental organizations working in the field in this regard.

The initiatives of the East Timorese leadership, particularly through Xanana Gusmão, in supporting assessment visits to East Timor in a spirit of reconciliation, and those of the Church — namely, the recent visit of Bishop Basílio do Nascimento to West Timor — are welcome. The overwhelming reception in all the refugee camps visited by Bishop Nascimento has made clear the desire of thousands of East Timorese to return to their own country.

The European Union understands that, after continuous harassment of its personnel, UNHCR has decided to suspend its humanitarian work in three camps located in the area of Kupang, housing more than 24,000 East Timorese refugees. Once again, this clearly shows the pressing need for decisive measures. The unacceptable campaign of misinformation and intimidation in refugee camps where militias continue to hold influence must come to an end.

The European Union urges Indonesia to make good its commitment to assist those who want to return. We welcome the assurances given by the Indonesian authorities to the international community. To that end, we consider of the utmost importance the immediate removal from the refugee camps of the military and the militia, the isolation of all militia leadership and assurances that those who obstruct repatriation operations will be held accountable. The response regarding the pensions issue is also a major element to be considered as part of the overall solution of the refugee problem.

For those Timorese who would like to stay in Indonesia and become Indonesian citizens, the European Union stresses the importance of a balanced and responsible resettlement programme. We believe that any attempt to resettle those who decide to stay in Indonesia near the border of East Timor can pose serious threats and could become an unnecessary source of conflict in the near future. These matters were discussed in constructive meetings early this month in Jakarta between the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Portugal, Mr. Jaime Gama, in his capacity as President-in-Office of the Council of the European Union, and the Indonesia President, Mr. Abdurrahman Wahid, its Foreign Minister, Mr. Shihab, and the Attorney-General of Indonesia. The European Union welcomes the cooperation that has been shown by Indonesian high-level authorities and hopes that it will continue.

The efforts being made by the Indonesian Attorney-General concerning the investigation of human rights violations in East Timor, as well as the spirit of cooperation with UNTAET under the Memorandum of Understanding signed with the United Nations transitional authority, are highly appreciated by the European Union, but the investigation process and the bringing to account of all those involved in the atrocities that followed the popular consultation must not be delayed. In this context, the European Union also encourages the Indonesian judicial authorities to continue their cooperation with the office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights.

The efforts to accelerate the "Timorization" of the Transitional Administration are strongly supported by the European Union. It is essential to involve the East Timorese in a broad representative manner, including women and youth, in the policy-making and administrative structure at a higher-level during the transition period.

It is legitimate, as Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello has said, that the East Timorese should seek gradually to acquire ownership of their future independent country. In this context, we urge UNTAET to improve its policy of information and transparency with a view to involving all sectors of the population in the construction of their future independent State in order to avoid undesirable misunderstandings between the transitional authority and the local population. The European Union encourages UNTAET to accelerate the training process of the East Timorese civilian police in

order to guarantee a gradual increase in local ownership in the area of security that would enable the reduction of UNTAET's military component.

The European Union takes note of the decision announced here today by the Secretary-General's Special Representative to establish benchmarks for the Transitional Administration to achieve before transferring power to the East Timorese. As we stated at the donor's conference in Lisbon, the European Union considers that certain objectives should be attained before independence and that a roadmap should be defined in such areas as the pace of reconstruction, the setting-up of mechanisms that are indispensable for the management of a modern and democratic State, the evolution of the political process and the safeguarding and security of the borders.

Considering the need for a swift transition, we also deem it convenient that, at an appropriate moment and after consultations with the parties concerned, a tentative date for the independence of East Timor should be fixed. Therefore, we fully support the indicative period announced here today by Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello.

There is now a more stable situation in East Timor. Conditions are in place for East Timorese to pursue a strong and true national reconciliation process that will enhance the rehabilitation of East Timor. It is also vital that the international community continue to show its commitment to supporting East Timor's recovery and development. The European Union believes that the transitional period is entering a crucial phase. The United Nations mission, together with the East Timorese, must play a critical role in the development of a new democratic State, in which the rule of law will be one of its main foundations, as well as in the creation of an independent State fully integrated into its region and in peace with all its neighbours.

The President (*spoke in French*): The next speaker on my list is the representative of Indonesia. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Thayeb (Indonesia): At the outset, my delegation would like to extend its congratulations to you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of June. We have every confidence that, under your wise and able guidance, the issues before the Council will be brought to a successful conclusion. Allow me also to extend felicitations to your predecessor, Ambassador Wang Yingfan, Permanent Representative of China, for his skilful stewardship of the Council's activities last month.

We would also like to thank the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello, for his comprehensive briefing regarding developments on the ground. Let me also, on this occasion, express my Government's satisfaction for having established a satisfactory practice of cooperation with the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) in the common interest of the development of East Timor.

As has been alluded to by previous speakers, my delegation is dismayed at the recent incident at the Noelbaki refugee camp which led to the decision of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) to suspend its activities at three refugee camps. However, we must acknowledge the fact that this incident was contained and that there were no injuries to any United Nations personnel. For Indonesia, such incidents are more disconcerting, particularly considering the fact that an atmosphere of calm had prevailed preceding the adverse events, which seem to occur on the eve of every Council meeting convened to consider the developments on the ground.

Time and again, my Government has expressed its strong commitment to taking the necessary steps to ensure security and to prevent such incidents from reoccurring. We share with others the view that threats of violence cannot be condoned under any circumstances, but we must not forget that the refugee problem is a complex, complicated and multidimensional one. Let us also not ignore the fact that a sense of frustration on the part of the refugees is heightened by the fact that they are still awaiting their return to East Timor. Despite the tireless efforts of the Government of Indonesia, the provincial governmental authorities in East Nusa Tenggara, UNHCR and other relevant humanitarian relief organizations, the pace and progress of the much-needed assistance have not met the expectations of the refugees and have thus had a demoralizing effect on them. Understandably, their profound concerns — especially over job opportunities, food shortages and the lack of other basic necessities — offer a bleak picture of what the future holds for them in East Timor. In addition, the heavy rains and flooding in East Nusa Tenggara in May 2000

worsened the conditions of the refugees. As a result, many lives were lost, with extensive damage to the infrastructure of the province. Faced with this emergency situation, the Indonesian Government took swift action by declaring a state of emergency in the area, while the local provincial government set up a task force. It was the concerted efforts of the Indonesian Government, along with the assistance rendered by various agencies of the United Nations, that succeeded in alleviating the hardships caused to the refugees by the floods.

There is no easy resolution to this problem. The Indonesian Government and the provincial government of East Nusa Tenggara have consistently called for the return of East Timorese refugees. As the most underdeveloped province of Indonesia, East Nusa Tenggara finds the additional economic burden a heavy one to bear. It has stretched its meagre resources to the limit. Compounding this situation is the fact that the numbers of refugees are equal to or even greater than the local Indonesian population, which does not constitute an ideal environment for security and harmony.

We acknowledge the role played by the local non-governmental organizations, as well as other international non-governmental organizations, that have often undertaken difficult tasks in providing a variety of services to the refugees, including basic services, food supplementation, advocacy and counselling and attending to the needs of women and children. We are also mindful of the contribution of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees in dealing with the refugee issue, and in this context we would like to underline the importance of the full resumption of its activities. At this critical juncture, therefore, it is also hoped that the international community will be forthcoming in providing the necessary assistance to those refugees who wish to remain in Indonesia, thereby contributing to the resolution of this complex problem.

Indonesia remains steadfast in its commitment to the East Timorese people as they embark on the path to a society of peace, democracy and reconciliation, as well as to prosperity and sustainable development. Indonesia looks forward to a new era and to building the foundations for bilateral relations between the two countries.

In this respect, it is pertinent to note the close cooperation between the Government of Indonesia and UNTAET in dealing with various issues that stem from the transfer of authority over East Timor from Indonesia to the United Nations. These include the questions of borders, assets, East Timorese students in Indonesian institutions of higher learning, East Timorese who were Indonesian civil servants, archives and cultural artefacts. Our capacity to contribute to the development of East Timor is limited by resource constraints. We are, however, able to adopt policies and undertake initiatives that are helpful to East Timor's development. The Indonesian Government will do its utmost to reach arrangements on issues arising from the transfer of authority that are most beneficial to East Timor, subject to existing Indonesian laws and regulations.

Undeniably, the road ahead is strewn with obstacles and challenges, some of which have been voiced in this debate. Nonetheless, Indonesia is determined to fulfil its long-standing commitment. We are also determined to provide support for the well-being of the people of East Timor, including by addressing the urgent need to promote genuine reconciliation among East Timorese of all political persuasions. It is therefore imperative — indeed, a prerequisite — that such an endeavour be initiated by the United Nations as a matter of priority if East Timor is to become a viable and democratic State.

The President *(spoke in French)*: I thank the representative of Indonesia for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker on my list is the representative of Brazil. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Moura (Brazil): Thank you, Mr. President, for organizing this open debate. I also thank Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello for his updating of the situation in East Timor, and I ask you, Mr. President, to convey the Brazilian Government's appreciation of the efforts undertaken by Mr. Vieira de Mello and his team in discharging the mandate of the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET).

We are all aware that UNTAET has very innovative features as a multidimensional peacekeeping operation. The scope of its mandate makes it comparable only to those initiatives that embody all the efforts of the international community

to restore peace and security. Some analysts have stressed that East Timor is a test case for the United Nations, to the extent that the Organization is confronted with the complex challenge of building a new nation.

The destruction and violence unleashed last September add to the complexity of the situation. The plight of an entire population and the devastation of its territory are the backdrop against which we should gauge the effectiveness of our efforts and of our resolve. East Timor came to the fore in the United Nations, and it is in our best interest to turn a test case into a success story.

The first steps have already been taken, although much remains to be done. UNTAET managed to halt political violence, and the embryo of the future State is already in place. But the signs of impatience and frustration cannot be overlooked. The positive aspects notwithstanding, it seems that for the regular Timorese the changes have not kept pace with the expectations.

Let me single out four areas of problems that should be tackled as a matter of priority: economy and employment, education and training, security and political participation.

In the area of economy and employment, the main challenge is the transition from relief, reconstruction and rehabilitation to long-term development. International agencies are starting to focus on long-term development and job creation, which is essential for the integration of East Timor into the global economy. It is important to create an enabling environment for business as well as to help develop those sectors that have good prospects for sustainability, such as coffee and seafood exports, to name just two.

It is most welcome that UNTAET and the Timorese leadership are engaged in negotiations with Australia to define a new Timor Gap Treaty that will allow the new country to benefit from the exploitation of the deposits of oil and gas lying in the Timor seabed.

The goal of establishing a modern market economy and efficient State institutions leads us to the second area of concern: education and training. Renewed efforts are necessary to eradicate illiteracy, provide basic education, train the workforce and prepare the Timorese people to take the helm of the private and public sectors.

The third area is security, in its broader sense. It is not only political violence that we must ward off, but also the violence of regular crimes. If sustainable economic growth is combined with increasing employment rates and the provision of basic public services, the social instability and public unrest will certainly diminish. Moreover, the independent East Timor will need institutions capable of upholding the rule of law and of settling controversies that may arise from social relations.

The law-abiding citizen is not created by decree. The emergence of such citizens hinges very much on the perception that judicial remedies are available and that everyone is equal before the law.

The fourth area is political participation. We must instil in all Timorese the enthusiasm for taking their destiny in their own hands. In this context, the National Consultative Council has played a key role in the decision-making process under the aegis of UNTAET. The participation of East Timorese in the administration is also important and must be increased.

Besides the "Timorization" of UNTAET, participation also implies the setting up of a checks-and-balances system, one that ensures accountability and transparency in all matters pertaining to public affairs and lays the basis for a functioning democratic State.

As an expression of the solidarity of Brazilian society with the cause of East Timor, Brazil, during its tenure as a non-permanent member of this Council, took an active role in the reintroduction of the item on East Timor into the active agenda of the Council and in the follow-up actions that led to the referendum and its choice for independence.

That same solidarity is reflected in our participation in the International Force in East Timor (INTERFET) and in our presence in UNTAET. We in Brazil were proud to receive Xanana Gusmão and other members of the National Council of Timorese Resistance (CNRT), who went to Brazil to examine the possibility of establishing a mechanism of cooperation.

Despite our budgetary constraints, Brazil is committed to supporting in a concrete manner the development of East Timor. Last May Brazil established a representation office in Dili that is intended to lay the foundations for bilateral cooperation. The Brazilian Agency for Cooperation is

sending a mission to East Timor in order to start the implementation of projects in education, capacity-building and public health. For a developing country such as Brazil, these initiatives represent a sizeable effort that should be understood in the context of the cultural and historical bonds that unite the Brazilian and the Timorese people.

The process of reconstruction of East Timor goes beyond UNTAET. The future independent state of East Timor needs international cooperation to consolidate the rule of law and its incipient economic system. We know that the mobilization of attention and resources is far more difficult when a particular case is no longer a flashpoint. It is imperative, however, to maintain the momentum of this cooperation.

In this regard, it is important to continue cutting through the red tape to enable the disbursement of funds through the United Nations and international financial institutions. It is also important that the resources pledged during the donor conferences that took place in Tokyo last year and Lisbon last week are delivered in due time.

In East Timor the United Nations and the international community have embarked on a sort of unprecedented exercise in political theory and practice. We are bearing witness to the birth of a nation-State that is supposed to embody the universal values whose proclamation is to a large extent a product of United Nations-sponsored multilateral negotiations. The success of the exercise depends, though, on giving a palpable meaning to the lofty principles enshrined in international documents. In other words, these principles will make sense for East Timor only if they are shored up by the improvement of day-to-day realities on the ground, at the very grass-roots level.

The President (*spoke in French*): The next speaker on my list is the representative of Australia. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Stuart (Australia): Mr. President, I applaud your decision to conduct this open meeting of the Council, which provides non-members with an opportunity to participate in the discussion on an issue which for my Government remains of particular importance.

Through you, Sir, I wish to thank the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Vieira de Mello, for his comprehensive briefing to the Council on the continuing work of the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET).

Australia strongly supports UNTAET's role in guiding East Timor through the transition process. So far UNTAET has made creditable progress in developing a transitional administration and laying the foundations for an independent East Timor. It has done so in the face of enormous challenges and limited resources. We commend Mr. Vieira de Mello's leadership, and we commend the effort and commitment of all UNTAET's personnel, both international and East Timorese.

It is important to the long-term success of the transition that the people of East Timor take an active and constructive role in governance from an early stage. Australia welcomes the steps which UNTAET has taken to promote increased East Timorese participation in decision-making processes, including through an expanded National Consultative Council.

We encourage UNTAET to continue to work on strategies which will facilitate the effective involvement of the East Timorese in the transition to independence. We welcome Mr. Vieira de Mello's account of further thinking within UNTAET and in discussion with East Timorese representatives about how this might be achieved.

A successful transition to independence in East Timor will require careful and effective planning. Hence we attach great importance to the development of a considered exit strategy for UNTAET. Among other elements, this strategy should lay down a set of realistic benchmarks which reflect the basic conditions required for East Timor to function effectively as an independent State. An exit strategy incorporating benchmarks should be a mutually reinforcing aspect of continuing efforts to expand East Timorese involvement in the transition process.

We consider that such a strategy should not be so detailed as to set the bar unrealistically high for what can be achieved, yet be specific enough to provide some focus for the path to independence and an adequate basis for measuring the progress and effectiveness of ongoing reconstruction efforts.

A stable security environment will be a key benchmark and an essential element of a smooth progression to independence. While improvements

have taken place in the last six months, security problems remain. Australia was seriously concerned by the two recent militia attacks on UNTAET peacekeeping operation forces along the border with West Timor. These attacks have highlighted the need for greater action to disarm the militia and curtail their activities in West Timor as well as the need for the peacekeeping operation to maintain vigilance, particularly in the border regions.

Australia also continues to be concerned at the situation of refugees in West Timor, in particular at the recent security incidents which have led to the suspension of the activities of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. We urge the Indonesian authorities to enhance efforts to accelerate resettlement and repatriation, including separating militias from refugees, ensuring that international agencies have unimpeded access to refugees to determine their preferences and to supervise repatriation, and, together with the international community, plan for permanent resettlement for those who do not wish to return.

Despite these concerns, improvement in the security situation, notably in the eastern part of East Timor, has provided a sound basis on which to commence a downsizing of the peacekeeping operation over the coming months. Australia supports UNTAET's decision to commence a gradual but steady decrease of troops in the eastern sector.

As for East Timor's future security needs, we remain committed to engaging fully with all key players in this important issue, and we welcome in this respect the commissioning by UNTAET of an independent study on East Timor's future security needs and options.

UNTAET's continuing effective operation in East Timor will rely heavily on the ability of the United Nations system to deliver the resources needed to implement all aspects of UNTAET's mandate. We encourage the United Nations to continue its efforts to streamline recruitment, procurement and approval procedures in order to overcome delays in implementing vital development activities.

As a close neighbour, Australia is a committed long-term partner in East Timor's reconstruction and development. The Australian Government has made a major financial commitment to East Timor last year and this. Our financial assistance in the financial year ending at the end of this month will total over $81 million (Australian) through the Australian Aid Programme.

In recognition of East Timor's continuing development needs, the Australian Government announced in May a commitment of $150 million (Australian) over the four years beginning this July through to 2003-2004. This multiyear commitment will provide East Timor with increased certainty in budgetary planning over the medium term.

In this context, the results of the Lisbon donor conference were very positive, especially the very strong support given to further work to establish an integrated budgetary framework for East Timor which coordinates recurrent costs and capital inputs as well as revenue and contributions from multilateral and bilateral donors.

While a good start has been made in identifying domestic sources of revenue, this needs to be pursued much more actively over the next few months. In the meantime, it is important for the international community to continue to provide assistance, not just for reconstruction efforts but also for the recurrent costs of the East Timorese administration so that it can keep basic services running in such areas as health, education and infrastructure.

Much remains to be done in East Timor. A successful transition to independence depends heavily on continuing support from the international community. Security Council resolution 1272 (1999) recognized that, in order to fulfil its mandate, UNTAET would need to draw on the expertise and capacity of Member States, United Nations agencies and other international organizations, including the international financial institutions. Australia urges the international community to continue its engagement in the progress, to fulfil the pledges made at the Tokyo conference, to build on the progress made last week in Lisbon and to consider contributions to the long-term recurrent financial and in-kind support UNTAET needs if it is to be able to deliver its services and to support East Timor's smooth and timely transition to independence.

The President (*spoke in French*): The next speaker on my list is the Permanent Representative of the Republic of Korea. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Sun (Republic of Korea): At the outset, Mr. President, I would like to express my delegation's appreciation for your initiative to hold an open debate to allow interested countries non-members of the Security Council to express their views on the situation in East Timor.

I would like also to join previous speakers in thanking Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello for his comprehensive and informative briefing.

It was only 13 months ago, with the conclusion of the 5 May agreement, that the long-cherished historic aspirations of the East Timorese people began to be fulfilled. Indeed, there have been many uncertainties, untold sacrifices and unexpected tragedies along the way. Yet the overall security situation in East Timor is now stable, and nation-building, including reconstruction and development, is taking place.

In this regard, no one deserves more credit than the East Timorese themselves, who have shown their strong will to overcome severe hardship in their struggle for independence. The Secretary-General has also played a crucial role in this historic endeavour with his bold and timely initiatives. Certainly, without the Indonesian Government's cooperation with the United Nations and the international community's generous contributions of funds and personnel, this progress would not have been possible.

Although I agree with the evaluation of many people that the work of the United Nations in East Timor has been a success, there are still challenges before us. Let me take this opportunity to comment on a few tasks that my delegation believes are of primary importance. First, we should put economic development and employment at the top of our agenda. We cannot deny the difficulty of making and implementing reconstruction projects with limited resources in a country that has very limited and little infrastructure, but we still need to try to make social and economic stability a reality. Although some progress has been made, more efforts should be undertaken to accelerate the disbursement of the World Bank's trust fund.

Secondly, I believe that there must be greater participation by the East Timorese in the decision-making process with regard to both UNTAET and World Bank projects. Without a sense of ownership, even the most well-designed programme will not be sustainable.

Thirdly, with regard to Mr. Vieira de Mello's reference to political benchmarks, such long-term benchmarks for UNTAET's project for nation-building in East Timor should be suggested as soon as possible, after consultation with the East Timorese people.

Fourthly, UNTAET and the Indonesian Government must take more decisive steps to implement repatriation and to ensure the safety of the refugees. This is especially important in the light of the heavy casualties among East Timorese refugees in West Timor during recent floods.

Finally, contributions from the international community should be continued if the dream of a new, independent and viable country is to be realized. It is especially imperative that contributing States fulfil their pledges; in this regard, we welcome the results of the donors' meeting in Lisbon.

The Republic of Korea has actively participated in the efforts of the international community to help East Timor, sending more than 400 peacekeepers and other personnel. My Government has also provided $250,000 in humanitarian assistance and $400,000 to the UNTAET Trust Fund, and we will contribute $600,000 for the training of East Timorese, in close consultation with UNTAET, for the next two years, beginning in 2001. The Republic of Korea remains committed to supporting the important objectives of the United Nations in East Timor.

The President (*spoke in French*): The next speaker on my list is the Permanent Representative of New Zealand. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Powles (New Zealand): I shall try — not least because of the lateness of the hour — to be very brief.

May I first of all express through you, Mr. President, my appreciation to Mr. Vieira de Mello for the excellent briefing he has given today and, indeed, to thank you, Sir, for the opportunity provided to non-members to participate in a public meeting of the Council under your presidency on this important issue.

The United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) has made very considerable progress on the security and humanitarian aspects of its mandate since its establishment. We must, however, express our concern at the recent incursions by militias and attacks on United Nations peacekeepers, including

the wounding of an Australian peacekeeper. New Zealand currently has over 600 of its defence force personnel patrolling the western border of East Timor under the United Nations flag, so our interest is real and direct. We are also concerned about the deteriorating security situation in some refugee camps in West Timor, which has led to the suspension of United Nations relief assistance. We acknowledge the actions taken by Indonesia to date, but call for renewed efforts by the Indonesian Government to rein in the militias in West Timor. My delegation therefore agrees strongly with the unequivocal comments made in this regard at this meeting by several members of the Council.

My Government very much welcomes the proposal by UNTAET and the National Council of Timorese Resistance for co-government in East Timor, which was foreshadowed at the very successful donors' meeting in Lisbon last week. It represents a significant step towards greater participation by East Timorese in government and shared political responsibility. We would want to encourage UNTAET and the East Timorese people to develop further the necessary constitutional and political frameworks to prepare East Timor for full independence. This process must have East Timorese ownership and be driven by the East Timorese, but it will obviously also require active input by UNTAET, drawing on the best constitutional advice available. Both these aspects will be critical for the unique United Nations task of preparing the territory of East Timor for independence.

Those are the main points I wish to make today.

The President (*spoke in French*): I now call on the last speaker on my list, the Permanent Representative of Norway. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Kolby (Norway): I would like to join the two previous speakers in commending you, Mr. President, for allowing non-members of the Council to participate in this debate. I also wish to thank Mr. Vieira de Mello for his interesting presentation.

The Government of Norway is pleased to note the very positive developments in East Timor since the establishment of an interim Administration under United Nations leadership less than a year ago. Remarkable progress has been made in recent months in establishing the basis for a new central administration, in building up the social sectors and in the training of civil servants, as well as in rebuilding infrastructure. However, the challenges are formidable.

East Timor will emerge as an independent country within a few years. But it will carry a heavy burden of development needs. The leadership of the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) has our confidence and support in laying the foundation for a new democratic and prosperous nation. We realize the difficulties and recognize the need for appropriate planning and coordination. We also share the frustration of East Timorese over a process that has at times been slow. At this juncture, all parties involved must focus on a speedy implementation of programmes that facilitate a rapid recovery of the economy and create employment activity, so that the people of East Timor can participate directly in the recovery of their country.

We must never lose sight of the primary goal, namely, that the East Timorese themselves, within a short period of time, will be able to govern their own country and lead their own administration. Norway urges the United Nations to make every effort to increase the participation of East Timorese in the building of this new nation. We feel that the transfer of competencies, investment in human resources and training of personnel for the public sector could be even more concentrated and efficient. We would again like to request, as we stated at last week's donors' meeting in Lisbon, that the greatest possible effort be made with regard to these processes.

Coordination of aid in support of reconstruction and development in East Timor is essential. We are particularly pleased in this context with the cooperation between the Asian Development Bank and the World Bank in establishing the Trust Fund for East Timor jointly. Aid coordination also implies that we as donors effectively design our own respective projects and programmes in such a manner that they meet the priorities of the East Timorese and that they do not overlap or leave any gaps. Projects can be sustainable only if they are in accordance with the future resources of an independent East Timor.

Progress on implementing decisions from the Tokyo donors' meeting in December last year has been uneven and, in some cases, too slow. We urge the donor community to ensure that pledges and commitments are translated into disbursements. At the same time, we urge UNTAET and international organizations to

review their operational procedures to speed up the implementation of programmes on the ground.

Norway has provided strong support for East Timor since long before the crisis of 1999. My Government has supported the East Timorese right to self-determination and has assisted in the humanitarian efforts to bring relief after the devastation left behind last autumn. Norway remains firmly committed to continuing to assist in the reconstruction and development of East Timor. We will continue to provide humanitarian assistance and to deal with the urgent needs. At the same time, Norway is increasingly addressing the reconstruction and longer-term development needs through contributions to the World Bank Trust Fund and the UNTAET Trust Fund, and through United Nations agencies and international organizations.

An especially complex and important issue is addressing East Timor's future security needs. This is a legitimate concern of all sovereign States. We would like to see these matters addressed as soon as possible by the Security Council in order to prepare the ground well for the establishment of appropriate security mechanisms before independence.

The President (*spoke in French*): The hour is late, but I think we should give the Special Representative, Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello, the opportunity to respond to the many questions put to him. I give him the floor.

Mr. Vieira de Mello (*spoke in French*): I would like to express my gratitude for your support, Mr. President, and for the support expressed by all speakers for the efforts we are making in Timor. This is a great source of encouragement to us all.

First of all, allow me to express my satisfaction and that of my associates at the unanimous endorsement of the initiatives we have undertaken in recent weeks to expand and deepen the participation of Timorese leaders in the Transitional Administration in East Timor until the time of independence.

As the President has suggested, I will now confine my remarks to answering the questions put to me. I have taken very careful notes of all the comments, suggestions, recommendations and advice that has been offered to us in the course of this debate. I can assure the Council that we will take them fully into account.

Let me begin with the question concerning reducing the size of the military force of the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET). I am thinking in particular of the statements made by the representatives of the United States, the Netherlands and Canada, as well as that made by the President.

The representative of the United States asked me whether we had a plan, and when the reduction would begin. Yes, we do have a plan, which we presented to the Under-Secretary-General for Peacekeeping Operations and which we will of course submit to the Secretary-General. Although I would like to emphasize that it has not yet been endorsed, that plan provides for a reduction of 487 troops between now and October, 1,050 between now and February, and 1,405 between now and April. This includes both men and women. It is only a provisional plan. As I said in my presentation, we shall be reviewing the situation at regular intervals. We are aware of what the Security Council resolution asks us to do, namely, to bring the security situation under control so as to permit a reduction of United Nations military forces in East Timor.

Apart from questions of security in the field, we also need to be sure of the capacity of our civilian police to take over the functions of maintaining public order that are now provided in East Timor by military personnel.

I would also point out that we have identified some additional needs, particularly in the areas of engineering capacity for road repairs — as I mentioned in my presentation — and patrolling Timorese territorial waters. This is a need that concerns me greatly, and it is possible that the figures I have just given the Council are not definitive.

I have taken note of the statements made by the Permanent Representatives of the Netherlands and Canada. I shall convey to the Secretary-General their requests that the Council be given a detailed briefing by our military colleagues before any final decision is taken on the reduction of the military force.

I turn now to other issues in the political domain. The Ambassador of the Netherlands asked me if independence will immediately follow the elections. I can only speculate now, but as we see things — and when I say "we", I mean the Timorese leaders, we in UNTAET and I think my colleagues here in New York also — the elections that will take place next year will

be elections for a constituent assembly. That assembly, once elected, will be able to consider the text of a draft Constitution, to debate it and to adopt it. So that makes me think that independence would not immediately follow the elections.

Another question, which I believe was put to me by the Ambassador of the Netherlands, concerns the measures taken or to be taken in order to improve the security situation in the refugee camps and along the border. In my presentation, I said that our cooperation with the Indonesian armed forces has been improving, notwithstanding recent incidents. We were informed by General Kiki Syahrakri, who commands the military district that covers the western portion of the island, that a large number of weapons were confiscated in the refugee camps. We were given the figure of 600 weapons, and were informed that the pro-integrationist militias could no longer be trained at these camps. Of course, we welcome these measures, and they have been confirmed through other sources. Regarding the additional measures that could be taken, I will repeat what some representatives have stated here, which has also been noted on other occasions — that the Timorese elements in the Indonesian armed forces and in the Indonesian police need to be transferred. I know that this process has begun. They need to transferred from the refugee camps and even from the western portion of the island to other Indonesian islands.

It also seems very important to identify, which should not be very difficult, and transfer from the camps the extremist elements that regularly carry out acts of violence and intimidation directed at the refugees or at the personnel of humanitarian agencies. Finally, it is clear that the acceleration of repatriation — or of reintegration for those refugees wishing to remain in Indonesia — would greatly facilitate things. When I gave my statement, I stated that we intend to take a number of measures with Xanana Gusmão and with Indonesian authorities to overcome obstacles in the current situation.

(*spoke in English*)

Regarding a number of questions that were put to me by Ambassador Greenstock and by Ambassador van Walsum, which are related to security, yes, we have been attempting to pay attention to the humanitarian needs of the Falantil, especially of those who are cantoned in Aileu, despite the problems that humanitarian agencies have, as is known, in assisting uniformed and armed personnel. We are trying to find an imaginative solution, and we have noted the interest of some Governments, in particular of Portugal, of providing direct bilateral assistance to them.

As far as the new security force is concerned, as I indicated, we are awaiting the outcome of the Kings College study that will make recommendations and, I hope, will propose different options regarding the configuration, the size and the doctrine of a possible future East Timorese defence force. I have taken note of what Ambassador van Walsum said about the role of Falintil in the creation of this new security force, a role that we recognize. What we need to do after decisions have been made on this future security force is to determine which of the Falintil members can be or should be retrained to form part of that force and which should be demobilized and retrained to occupy their place in East Timor civil society. The plan exists, but, as members may be aware, the Falintil commanders do not wish to treat this problem piecemeal and are therefore awaiting a decision on the future security force before they agree to the retirement or demobilization of some of the Falintil subgroups.

Finally, Ambassador van Walsum asked me if we had the results of the investigation into the latest grenade attack against the Australian contingent of the peacekeeping force. No, the answer is that I do not have it yet. I know that those who were arrested were being interrogated, and this information could be made available to the Council as soon as it is made available to me.

Moving now to other questions put to me by Ambassador Greenstock, the question of the slow rate of disbursement is one that has preoccupied us, as I said in my presentation. I indicated in Lisbon last week that we had two main reasons for this pattern of slow disbursement in the first semester of the year 2000.

First of all, we did not have a government procurement capacity in Dili. This is one of the lessons we can learn from UNTAET, and I believe also from the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo, namely, that when governance-building and nation-building, efforts are deployed by the Security Council, a capacity in different areas for which we do not necessarily have resources in the United Nations system, and in particular procurement for the Government as distinct from the peacekeeping mission as such, should be deployed in the very early stages of

the operation. We now have such a capacity with the help of the United Nations Office for Project Services.

The second reason was that we did not, until three weeks ago, have a consolidated budget for East Timor. So it was extremely difficult for us to decide on priorities. We were bombarded, as can be imagined, with requests from different central and district transitional administration services, all of them justified. But it was impossible to prioritize in the absence of a consolidated budget, which we now have and which, as members know, was approved last week in Lisbon. We can now, therefore, begin implementing the budget for East Timor for the fiscal year 2000-2001, and I can assure members that the rate of disbursements will increase rapidly.

I have also taken note of Ambassador Greenstock's comments, which I will share with my colleagues here in the Secretariat, regarding measurable achievements, as well as a greater level of autonomy for UNTAET in the performance of its governance functions.

I move now to the question of refugees. The representative of Namibia asked me if we had estimates of how many out of the roughly 120,000 would be prepared to go back and how many would prefer to remain in Indonesia. The long-awaited census of the refugee population in West Timor has not been completed yet. It has been suspended, in fact, as a result of the incidents in the camps around Kupang. Therefore, the total figure of 120,000 is only an estimate. Our sense is that at least half, if not two thirds, of the refugee population in West Timor would be prepared to return if given the possibility of choosing freely and if a number of conditions were met, some of which I outlined and others of which were alluded to by the representative of Indonesia in his presentation. I will not list those, but this is our rough estimate.

The representative of Malaysia asked me whether there had been progress on the proposed relocation of integrationists and their families away from the border. The answer is no; we have not yet had confirmation that this is happening. Incidentally, 20 kilometres away from the border may be an insufficient distance. As I said, we would prefer that the most extreme elements among the pro-integration forces — particularly those who were previously members of the militia — be relocated at a safe distance from our border, and preferably away from West Timor, or the province of Nusa Tenggara Timur as it is known in Bahasa Indonesia.

Moving now to the last few questions, the representative of Jamaica, supported by Brazil, asked me what measures were being taken to tackle my "nightmare", which is unemployment in East Timor. In addition to, obviously, recruitment of East Timorese by international organizations, be they intergovernmental or non-governmental, recruitment into the new civil service of East Timor — that is, approximately 10,000 new civil servants in the coming fiscal year — should provide employment. But obviously, we should not look to the public sector to solve the problems of unemployment. Bilateral programmes funded by countries represented in this Chamber, for which I am most thankful, have helped us bridge the gap between the Tokyo conference, the appraisal of reconstruction programmes, and the impending implementation of large-scale reconstruction programmes. But it is these reconstruction programmes in the fields of health, education, infrastructure and agriculture that will provide employment opportunities in sufficient numbers in the months to come.

The private sector, though, in the longer term — and you alluded to this, Mr. President — will be the employment-generation sector. Therefore, the promotion of investment in East Timor, from both foreign and smaller local sources, is essential. And in order for that to happen, we also need to resolve the question of land and property, which is another of our many nightmares, given the fact that there are no records left in East Timor: East Timor has no memory; there are no archives; there is nothing left. And as can be imagined, we receive many competing claims regarding property. Unless these can be resolved, probably by an independent tribunal, in the near future, very few investors will be prepared to come and risk their money in East Timor. We are very conscious of that.

(*spoke in French*)

The President asked where we stood with regard to loans to small and medium-sized enterprises and whether we had sufficient funds. No, they are not sufficient. We have some $4 million from a small-scale World Bank project; yet requests received as of just before I left amounted to more than $30 million. This is very encouraging; it means that there is a great deal

of initiative and much interest on the part of Timorese enterprises in setting themselves up. But clearly, the $4 million at hand is not enough. Our plan is to encourage local enterprises that will be working with us to implement major reconstruction plans financed by the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank, and to set up joint ventures involving Timorese in order to create Timorese capacity in the private sector.

(*spoke in English*)

I shall conclude by addressing two further questions. The first is from Ambassador Satoh of Japan, on mass information. He is absolutely right: that is one of our greatest weaknesses, which explains some of the frustration expressed by the Timorese population. The problem is that we have no television; the coverage of our own UNTAET radio is very limited. It will take time to repair repeaters, antennas and the generators for those antennas. It will take time to procure radio sets and distribute them to the Timorese population. We are very conscious of this, and we are enthusiastically proceeding with the reconstruction of the telecommunications infrastructure in East Timor, not least for that reason.

We also have a fortnightly magazine, which is broadly distributed but which is grossly insufficient as well. We are trying to use other means, such as video, town hall meetings — I myself participate in those — and I have recently written to the two bishops of East Timor requesting the help of the Church infrastructure in disseminating information on our activities.

(*spoke in French*)

Finally, Mr. President, let me reply to your question about progress with respect to the exploitation of natural resources, especially oil and natural gas. Timorese leaders told us a few months ago that they would like the terms of the agreement on the exploitation of these resources in the deep waters between Timor and Australia, in the cooperation zone defined by the pre-existing treaty between Indonesia and Australia, to be renegotiated by UNTAET — with Timorese participation to be sure — during the transitional phase. Talks have taken place in Adelaide, Canberra, Dili and, just last weekend, Darwin. The Australian Government has evinced understanding. They are open-minded and flexible, for which I am grateful to them. I am therefore optimistic about the conclusion of these negotiations before independence day.

I thank you, Sir, and all the other members of the Council for this opportunity to address the Council and for your support.

The President (*spoke in French*): I thank the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for his useful clarifications after a long debate that, I am happy to say, has been exemplary in that both the questions and the answers were very precise and informative. I believe that reflects the Security Council's interest in this unprecedented endeavour under way in East Timor under United Nations auspices. I think it was exemplary also because of the common ground that was apparent in the comments, and because of the Security Council's unanimous support for the Special Representative.

I thank Mr. Vieira de Mello and hope that he will be able to meet with us in a few months' time and to tell us of fresh progress in every area of his endeavours.

The meeting rose at 2.10 p.m.